

National Gallery of Art

# Center 3

Research Reports and Record of Activities







National Gallery of Art  
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Center 3  
Research Reports  
and Record of Activities

June 1982—May 1983

Washington, D.C. 1983



National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Washington, D.C. 20565

Telephone: (202) 842-6480

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced without the written permission of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565.

Copyright © 1983 Trustees of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

This publication was produced by the Editors Office, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

*frontispiece:*

Gavarni, "Les Artistes," no. 13 (printed by Aubert et Cie.), published in *Le Charivari*, 9 September 1938.

"St. Pierre, mon ami, vous êtes capot!"

# CONTENTS

## General Information

<i>Fields of Inquiry</i>	9
<i>Fellowship Program</i>	10
<i>Facilities</i>	13
<i>Program of Meetings</i>	13
<i>Publication Program</i>	14
<i>Board of Advisors and Selection Committee</i>	14

## Report on the Academic Year 1982-1983 (June 1982-May 1983)

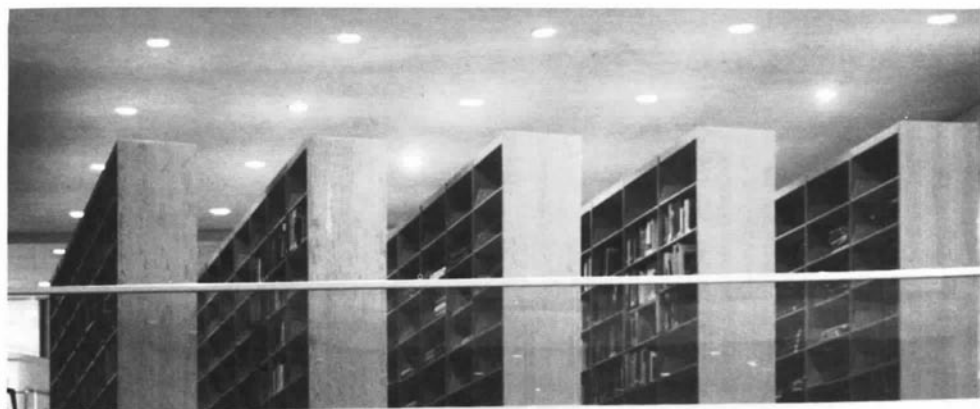
<i>Board of Advisors</i>	16
<i>Staff</i>	16
<i>Members</i>	16
<i>Meetings</i>	20
<i>Lecture Abstracts</i>	29

## Members' Research Reports

<i>Reports</i>	36
----------------	----



## GENERAL INFORMATION



THE CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS was founded in 1979, as part of the National Gallery of Art, to promote the study of history, theory, and criticism of art, architecture, and urbanism through the formation of a community of scholars. This community consists of the Kress Professor, Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, Associates, and Predoctoral Fellows. The activities of the Center, which include the fellowship program, meetings, research, and publication, are privately funded.

### FIELDS OF INQUIRY

The Center fosters the study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art and artifacts from prehistoric times to the present. Studies of all the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, are encouraged. The Center also supports studies of the theory, historiography, and criticism of the visual arts, including critical studies leading to the formation of aesthetic theories.





## FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

### *Kress Professorship*

The National Gallery of Art and the Center select annually a distinguished art historian as Kress Professor, a position created by the Gallery in 1965. Occasionally during the same academic year two scholars are chosen to serve consecutive terms. Traditionally, the Kress Professor counsels Predoctoral Fellows in their dissertation research. The Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center.

### *Senior Fellowships*

Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of the applicant. Senior Fellowships are limited to those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Awards are normally made for the academic year. Awards for one academic term and, in exceptional cases, four consecutive terms, are also possible. Senior Fellows must reside in Washington during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring, and are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center.

Senior Fellowship grants are based on individual need. The award will normally be limited to one-half the applicant's annual salary; in no case can it exceed the applicant's annual salary. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives round-trip travel expenses, a supplemental housing allowance, some research allowance for photographs, slides, microfilms, etc., and subsidized luncheon privileges. A study is provided each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds may be available for research purposes and for presenting a paper at a professional meeting.

The application deadline for the Senior Fellowship program is 31 October. Each candidate submits an application form including a project proposal, three publications, biographical data, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.

### *Visiting Senior Fellowships*

The Center awards Visiting Senior Fellowships for a maximum of sixty days during the year in two periods: A) September to February, and B) March to August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Awards include a stipend, some research allowance, subsidized luncheon privileges, and a study.

The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships need only two letters of recommendation in support of their application. Submission of publications is not required.



### *National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellowship*

One Senior Fellowship is reserved for a qualified art historian who has served at least one year in one of the departments of the National Gallery. Holders of the fellowship may obtain leave for up to four months to pursue their projects.

The application deadline is 31 October. Candidates submit an application form similar to that for a Senior Fellowship, but with only two publications required.

### *Associate Status*

The Center may appoint Associates without stipend for periods from one month to an academic year. Qualifications, conditions, and application procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships and Visiting Senior Fellowships.

### *Predoctoral Fellowships*

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of Western art history who have completed their university residence requirements and at least one additional year's research on their proposed dissertation topics. Certain fellowships are designated for research in specific fields. Others require a period of residency at the Center and participation in a curatorial research project at the Gallery. Applicants must be either United States citizens or enrolled in a university in the United States.



Application for the National Gallery Predoctoral Fellowships at the Center may be made only through graduate departments of art history in colleges and universities in the United States. Departmental chairmen sponsor applications from their departments. The application deadline is 15 November. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not renewable.

#### *Other Information About Tenure and Application*

Members may not apply for other fellowships at the Center during the period of their award, which itself is not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years. Holders of one-term appointments, including National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, may reapply after three years.

The appropriate application forms for Senior Fellowships, Visiting Senior Fellowships, National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565.

Application for Predoctoral Fellowships may be made only through the chairmen of the respective departments of art history in which the candidates are enrolled. Further information about these fellowships may be obtained from the Center.

## FACILITIES

The Center's office, lounge, seminar room, and individual studies are located in the East Building of the National Gallery. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over 100,000 volumes. The Gallery's collections, photographic archives, and support services are available during regular business hours. Members of the Center also have access to other libraries in the Washington area, including the Library of Congress, the Folger Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution. Lunch is served in the National Gallery refectory Monday through Friday.

## PROGRAM OF MEETINGS

Opportunity for formal and casual exchange among the members is provided through seminars, colloquia, lectures, and symposia, as well as the Center's weekly lunch and tea. Art historians and other scholars in the Washington area are invited to these meetings.

Senior members are invited to discuss their research at a colloquium. Predoctoral Fellows present informal shop talks based on their dissertation research in progress.

A listing of the meetings held at the Center in 1982-1983 may be found on pages 20-28.





## PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center and abstracts of lectures are published annually. (See pages 37–86 for reports written by members of the Center in 1982–1983 and pages 29–33 for abstracts of lectures presented at the Center in 1982–1983.) The Center also publishes an annual listing of research in the history of art sponsored by a number of granting institutions in the United States and Canada.

Papers presented at symposia and other conferences sponsored by the Center are often gathered and published in the National Gallery's *Studies in the History of Art*. The papers delivered at a symposium held at the Center in November 1980 have been published as volume 10 of *Studies in the History of Art: Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Hellenistic Times*. Those of the symposia on *El Greco and Toledo*, held in Toledo, Spain, in April 1982 under the joint auspices of the Instituto Diego Velázquez in Madrid and the Center for Advanced Study; *Claude Lorrain 1600–1682*, held at the Center on 2 December 1982; and *Raphael before Rome* held at the Center in January 1983, are now being prepared for publication.

## BOARD OF ADVISORS AND SELECTION COMMITTEE

A rotating Board of Advisors of seven art historians meets annually to consider the policies and programs of the Center. The board also serves as a selection committee to review all fellowship applications to the Center. Members of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery participate in the review of applications for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery.

# REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR

1982-1983

(June 1982-May 1983)



## BOARD OF ADVISORS

Dore Ashton, The Cooper Union  
Jean S. Boggs, Canada Museums Construction Corporation  
James Cahill, University of California, Berkeley  
Marvin Eisenberg, University of Michigan  
Alfred Frazer, Columbia University  
Oleg Grabar, Harvard University  
George Heard Hamilton, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute  
Francis Haskell, Oxford University  
Irving Lavin, Institute for Advanced Study  
William Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks and Catholic University  
Craig H. Smyth, Villa I Tatti

## STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*  
Marianna S. Simpson, *Assistant Dean*  
  
Alison Luchs, *Research Assistant*  
Rita Offer, *Research Assistant*  
Deborah Wilde, *Research Associate*  
Jean Wilson, *Research Assistant*

## MEMBERS

### *Kress Professor*

1982-1983  
Harold E. Wethey, University of Michigan  
*Titian and His Drawings and Alonso Cano: Pintor Escultor, Arquitecto*

### *The Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts*

1983  
Vincent J. Scully, Yale University  
*The Shape of France*

### *Senior Fellows*

1982-1983

Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., University of New Mexico  
*Meaning and Content in Winslow Homer's Art*

Beatrice Farwell, University of California, Santa Barbara  
*Popular Imagery and High Art in Nineteenth-Century France*

Alan Gowans, University of Victoria, British Columbia  
*Studies in Social Functions of Art and Architecture*

Anne McGee Morganstern, Ohio State University  
*The Genealogical Tomb: Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century*

Amy L. Neff, University of Tennessee  
*The Supplications variae as a Franciscan Manuscript*

Doris M. Srinivasan, Fairfax, Virginia  
*Origins of Divine Multiplicity in Indian Art: Meaning and Form*

Fall 1982

Hubert H. Damisch, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris  
*Perspective Story*

Spring 1983

Barbara Miller Lane, Bryn Mawr College  
*The Uses of History in Modern Architecture: Government Buildings and Urbanism since 1870*

Gabriel P. Weisberg, University of Pittsburgh  
*S. Bing and the Evolution of Art Nouveau*

### *Visiting Senior Fellows*

Summer 1982

Elizabeth Higdon, Duke University  
*Joan Miró's Head of a Catalan Peasant*

Summer-Fall 1982

Anatole Kopp, Université de Paris VIII  
*Architecture and Town Planning During the New Deal Period*

Fall 1982

Xavier Barral I Altet, Université de Haute-Bretagne, Rennes II  
*Medieval Mosaic Pavements in France and Italy*

Fall 1982-Spring 1983

Lynne Lawner, New York, New York  
*I modi: Giulio Romano, Marcantonio Raimondi, Pietro Aretino*

Charlotte Stokes, Oakland University  
*The Problems of Surrealist Form and Content in Max Ernst's Capricorn*

*National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow*

Fall 1982  
Martha Wolff, National Gallery of Art  
*Early Engravings in Northern Europe*

*Associates*

Fall 1982  
Irene A. Bierman, University of California, Los Angeles  
*Connotative Meaning in Arabic Script: The Lām/Alif Ligature*

Spring 1983  
Alden Rand Gordon, Trinity College  
*Royal Art Patronage in Ancien Régime France: The Role of the Marquis de Marigny*

*Fellows*

1982-1985  
Hilary Meg Ballon, [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1982-1983  
*The Places Royales of Henri IV and the Urban Development of Paris 1600-1610*

Susan Barnes, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
David E. Finley Fellow, 1981-1984  
*The Italian Period of Anthony Van Dyck, c. 1621-1627*

Dawson W. Carr, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1982-1983  
*The Fresco Decorations of Luca Giordano in Spain*

Anita Joplin, [University of California, Berkeley]  
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1981-1983  
*Jan Brueghel and the Encyclopaedic Collection*

\*Franklin Kelly, [University of Delaware]  
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1981-1983  
*Frederic Church and the North American Landscape*

Catherine Levesque, [Columbia University]  
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1982-1983  
*God, Man, and Nature: Dutch Landscape Painting 1560-1660*

\*in residence 1982-1983

Lucy MacClintock, [Harvard University]  
David E. Finley Fellow, 1982-1985  
*Eugène Delacroix and the Significance of Finish in Romantic Painting*

Thomas S. Michie, [Yale University]  
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1982-1984  
*The Willards and Associated Artisans in Boston, 1780-1830*

Steven Ostrow, [Princeton University]  
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1982-1984  
*The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in Santa Maria Maggiore*

Marcus L. Rautman, [Indiana University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1982-1983  
*The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki: A Study in Palaeological Architecture*

\*George T. M. Shackelford, [Yale University]  
David E. Finley Fellow, 1980-1983  
*The Dance Compositions of Edgar Degas*

\*M.E. Warlick, [The University of Maryland]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1982-1983  
*Max Ernst's Collage Novel, Une semaine de bonté*

\*Fronia E. Wissman, [Yale University]  
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1981-1983  
*The Lyric Landscape: Poetry and Music in the Late Salon Paintings of Camille Corot*

\*in residence 1982-1983



## MEETINGS

### *Symposia*

2 December 1982

#### CLAUDE LORRAIN 1600-1682

*Claude and a Bolognese Revival*

Clovis Whitfield, London

*The Importance of Filippo Napoletano for Claude's Early Formation*

Marco Chiarini, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Palazzo  
Pitti, Florence

*Claude's Psyche Pendants (London and Cologne)*

H. Diane Russell, National Gallery of Art

*Reflections on Claude, Three Centuries Later*

Marcel Roethlisberger, University of Geneva

*Claude: A Problem in Perspective*

Hubert H. Damisch, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris

6-8 January 1983

#### RAPHAEL BEFORE ROME

*The Early Raphael and Bologna*

Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University

*The Early Raphael and His Umbrian Contemporaries*

Sylvia Ferino Pagden, Bibliotheca Hertziana

*Raphael and Venice: Giovanni Bellini, Dürer, and Bosch*

Germano Mulazzani, Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e  
Architettonici, Milan

*Raphael's Early Patrons*

L. D. Ettlinger, University of California, Berkeley

*Raphael and Pintoricchio*

Konrad Oberhuber, Harvard University

*Signorelli and Young Raphael*

Creighton E. Gilbert, Yale University

*Perugino and the Early Experience of Raphael*

Francis Russell, Christie's, London

*The Coronation of the Virgin*

Fabrizio Mancinelli, Vatican Museums

*The Coronation of the Virgin and the Activity of Raphael between 1502 and 1504*

Pierluigi De Vecchi, Università degli Studi di Milano

*Reflections on the Infrared Reflectographies of the Sposalizio*

Carlo Bertelli, Palazzo di Brera

*Examination and Treatment of Paintings by Raphael in the National Gallery of Art*

Ross Merrill and Carol Christensen, National Gallery of Art

*Raphael's Commissions from the Court of Urbino Relating to the Orders of the Garter  
and Saint Michael*

Cecil H. Clough, University of Liverpool

*Saint George in Raphael's Washington Painting*

David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art

*The San Nicolas da Tolentino Altarpiece*

Sylvie Béguin, Musée du Louvre

*The Born Architect*

John Shearman, Princeton University

*Raphael and the Florentine "Istoria"*

Charles M. Rosenberg, University of Notre Dame

*Comments and Conclusions*

James Beck, Columbia University

4 March 1983

PERSPECTIVES ON MANET

Jointly sponsored with the Department of the History of Art, The Johns Hopkins University

*New Light on the Old Musician*

Theodore Reff, Columbia University

*Manet's Prints: The Medium as the Message*

Beatrice Farwell, University of California, Santa Barbara

*Manet and the Playing Card Principle*

George Mauner, The Pennsylvania State University

*Painting Memories: The Structure of the Past in Baudelaire and Manet*

Michael Fried, The Johns Hopkins University

23 April 1983

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MIDDLE ATLANTIC  
SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART

Jointly sponsored with the Department of Art, University of Maryland

*Michelangelo's "Figura Serpentinata"*

Mary Alice Lee, [The Johns Hopkins University]

*Caricatures by Cornelis Dusart: Shadows of Derision Cast Upon the Sun King*

Shirley K. Bennett, [University of Maryland]

*Caravaggio's Death of the Virgin Reconsidered*

Susan Babaie, [American University]

*Annibale Carracci's Pietàs: The Development of a New Devotional Image*

Penny Cyd Lazarus, [University of Pittsburgh]

*Carolingian Engraved Gems: A New Phenomenon*

Genevra A. Kornbluth, [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]

*Pietro Cavallini and Byzantine Art: A Reconsideration*

Mark R. Peterson, [University of Virginia]

*Anne Whitney's Roma*

Lisa B. Reitzes, [University of Delaware]

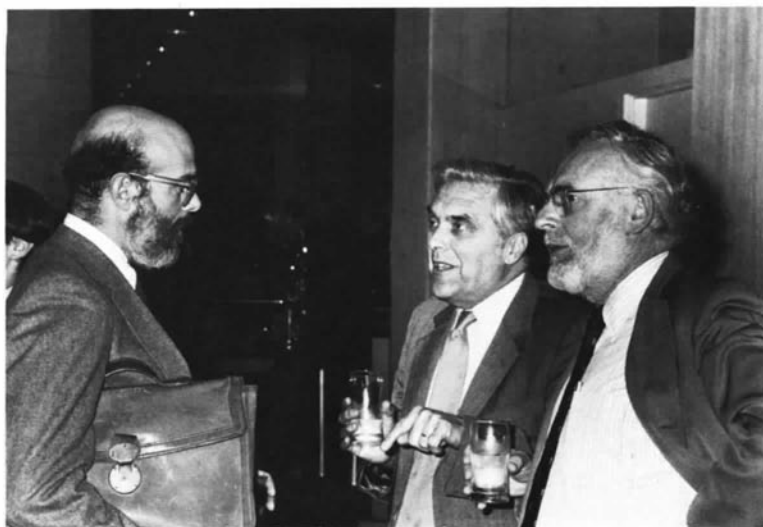
*Charles-Emile Jacque and the Reemergence of Printmaking in Nineteenth-Century France*

John J. Taormina, [George Washington University]

*A Pair of Unequal Lovers: Two Paintings from the Circle of Godfried Schalcken*

Gillian Greenhill, [The Pennsylvania State University]





### *Seminars*

8 October 1982

#### RECENT RESEARCH ON EL GRECO AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPANISH STUDIES

##### *Readings:*

*El Greco of Toledo*, exhibition catalogue with contributions by Jonathan Brown, William B. Jordan, Richard L. Kagan, and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez (Toledo, 1982).

*Studies in the History of Art 11: Figures of Thought: El Greco as Interpreter of History, Tradition, and Ideas*, ed. Jonathan Brown (Washington, D.C., 1982).

F. Marías and A. Bustamante, *Las ideas artísticas de El Greco: Comentarios a un texto inédito* (Madrid, 1981).

##### *Participants:*

Barbara von Barghahn, George Washington University  
Jonathan Brown, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts  
Dawson Carr, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
John W. Cook, Yale University  
Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University  
Samuel K. Heath, [Columbia University]  
William B. Jordan, Kimbell Art Museum  
Richard L. Kagan, The Johns Hopkins University  
Duncan Kinkead, Duke University  
George Kubler, Yale University  
Linda M. Martz, Washington, D.C.  
Gridley McKim-Smith, Bryn Mawr College

Priscilla E. Muller, The Hispanic Society of America  
David Rosand, Columbia University  
Earl E. Rosenthal, University of Chicago  
Sarah W. Schroth, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
Harry Sieber, The Johns Hopkins University  
Edward J. Sullivan, New York University  
Mary Crawford Volk, Tufts University  
Harold E. Wethey, University of Michigan

5 November 1982

DAVID SMITH

*Reading:*

E. A. Carmean, Jr., *David Smith* (Washington, D.C., 1982).

*Participants:*

Dan Budnik, Woodfin Camp and Associates  
E. A. Carmean, Jr., National Gallery of Art  
Anthony Caro, London  
Trinkett Clark, National Gallery of Art  
Alan Farancz, New York, New York  
Helen Frankenthaler, New York, New York  
Michael Fried, The Johns Hopkins University  
Edward Fry, University of South Florida  
Sidney Geist, New York, New York  
Eugene Goosen, Bennington College  
Rosalind Krauss, Hunter College and the Graduate Center, C.U.N.Y.  
Jane Livingston, Corcoran Gallery of Art  
Miranda McClintic, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution  
Garnett McCoy, Archives of American Art  
Charles W. Millard, III, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution  
Robert Murray, New York, New York  
Sheldon Nodelman, University of California, San Diego  
Anne Truitt, University of Maryland  
Phyllis Tuchman, Williams College  
Karen Wilkin, Toronto

3 December 1982

CLAUDE LORRAIN 1600-1682

*Readings:*

Michael Kitson, *Claude Lorrain: Liber Veritatis* (London, 1978).  
Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain, The Paintings*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1961; reprint ed. New York, 1981).  
Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain, The Drawings*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968).  
H. Diane Russell, *Claude Lorrain 1600-1682* (Washington, D.C., 1982).

*Participants:*

Pamela Askew, Vassar College  
Susan Bandes, Sweet Briar College  
Malcolm Campbell, The University of Pennsylvania  
Marco Chiarini, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Palazzo Pitti,  
Florence  
Elizabeth Cropper, Temple University  
Hubert H. Damisch, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris  
Diane DeGrazia, National Gallery of Art  
Marc Fumaroli, Paris  
Ann Sutherland Harris, University of Texas, Arlington  
Michael Kitson, Courtauld Institute  
Michael Mahoney, Trinity College  
John R. Martin, Princeton University  
Ann Percy, Philadelphia Museum of Art  
Andrew Robison, National Gallery of Art  
Marcel Roethlisberger, Université de Genève  
H. Diane Russell, National Gallery of Art  
Richard E. Spear, Oberlin College  
Richard Wallace, Wellesley College  
Clovis Whitfield, London

22 March 1983

THE PANTHEON

*Readings:*

Heinz Kähler, "The Pantheon as Sacral Art," *Bucknell Review* 15 (May 1967),  
41-48.  
William Loerke, "Georges Chédanne and the Pantheon: A Beaux-Arts Con-  
tribution to the History of Roman Architecture," *Modulus: University of*  
*Virginia School of Architecture Review* (1983), 40-55.  
William L. MacDonald, *The Pantheon* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976).  
C. L. V. Meeks, "Pantheon Paradigm," *Journal of the Society of Architectural*  
*Historians* 19 (1960), 135-144

*Participants:*

Malcolm Bell, University of Virginia  
M. T. Boatwright, Duke University  
Willson Cummer, Rhode Island School of Design  
Slobodan Curčić, Princeton University  
Diane Favro, Florida A&M University  
Alfred Frazer, Columbia University  
Hellmut Hager, Pennsylvania State University  
Roger Kennedy, National Museum of American History,  
Smithsonian Institution  
Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art  
William Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks and Catholic University  
William L. MacDonald, Smith College  
Tod A. Marder, Rutgers State University

Robert Mark, Princeton University  
Guy Métraux, York University  
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study  
Fred Nichols, University of Virginia  
Sheldon A. Nodelman, University of California, San Diego  
John Pinto, Smith College  
David Thompson, Howard University

16 May 1983

#### CATALOGUE OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS

*Participants:*

Diana Archibald, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal  
Elisabeth Betz, Library of Congress  
Elaine Dee, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Institution  
Angela Giral, Avery Memorial Library, Columbia University  
Ronald Grim, Library of Congress  
Phyllis Lambert, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal  
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study  
Ford Peatross, Library of Congress  
David Scott, National Gallery of Art  
Susan Stein, American Institute of Architects  
Deborah Wilde, Center for Advanced Study

18 May 1983

#### A COMPUTERIZED INVENTORY OF AMERICAN SCULPTURE

*Presentations:*

*Present and Future Direction of Computerized Resources at the National Museum of American Art*

Eleanor E. Fink, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

*The History and Development of the Inventory of American Painting*

Martha S. Andrews, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

*The Art Exhibition Catalogue Index: Information Handling for Art Historians*

James L. Yarnall, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

*Sculpture Represented in the Catalogue of American Portraits of the National Portrait Gallery*

Linda T. Neumaier, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

*Participants:*

Martha S. Andrews, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Linda Bantel, Pennsylvania Academy of The Fine Arts

Mary Childs Black, New York, New York

Eleanor E. Fink, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Abigail Booth Gerdt, National Academy of Design

William H. Gerds, City University of New York  
Kathryn T. Greenthal, The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
George Gurney, Arlington, Virginia  
Alison Luchs, National Gallery of Art  
Charles W. Millard, III, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden,  
Smithsonian Institution  
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study  
Virginia Norton Naudé, Pennsylvania Academy of The Fine Arts  
Linda T. Neumaier, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution  
Michael Panhorst, University of Delaware  
Jan Seidler Ramirez, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Charles J. Robertson, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian  
Institution  
Lewis I. Sharp, The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Alan M. Stahl, American Numismatic Society  
Claire Stein, National Sculpture Society  
D. Dodge Thompson, National Gallery of Art  
James Yarnall, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

### *Lectures*

1 March 1983  
ITALIAN BRONZES

*Washington Small Bronzes: Widener, Kress, and Later Collections in the National  
Gallery*

Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art  
*Paduan Bronzes around Riccio*  
James Draper, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

21 March 1983  
THE PANTHEON

*Agrippa's Pantheon*  
William Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks and Catholic University  
*Hadrian's Pantheon: Theoretical Considerations*  
William L. MacDonald, Smith College

*For abstracts of Pantheon lectures, see pages 29-30.*

### *Colloquia XXII-XXXI*

7 October 1982  
*El Greco: True and False, a Matter of Connoisseurship*  
Harold E. Wethey

28 October 1982

*Hieronymus Bosch, The Seven Deadly Sins, and the Washington/Yale/Louvre Connection*

Anne Morganstern

18 November 1982

*Temples for True Believers: On the Social Function of Galleries and Museums in the Modern World*

Alan Gowans

9 December 1982

*The Urbino, Baltimore, and Berlin Panels: A Structuralist Approach*

Hubert H. Damisch

20 January 1983

*Winslow Homer's Harvest of Death: The Veteran in a New Field*

Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr.

10 February 1983

*Divine Multiplicity in Indian Art: Some Problems and Solutions*

Doris M. Srinivasan

10 March 1983

*The Private Collecting and Patronage of the Marquis de Marigny: Brother of Mme de Pompadour and Director of Works to Louis XV*

Alden Rand Gordon

31 March 1983

*The Importance of S. Bing's Art Nouveau Craftsmen Workshops: 1898-1904*

Gabriel P. Weisberg

14 April 1983

*Popular Images and High Art of Nineteenth-Century France: The Rural versus Urban Question in Courbet*

Beatrice Farwell

5 May 1983

*Government Buildings in the Cityscape: Some Aspects of Modern Architecture since 1870*

Barbara Miller Lane

### *Shop Talks*

13 January 1983

*Corot's Salon Paintings*

Fronia Wissman

22 February 1983

*A Closer Look at Degas' Working Methods*

George T. M. Shackelford



24 March 1983

*Frederic Church and the North American Landscape, 1844-1854*

Franklin Kelly

19 April 1983

*The Fresco Decorations of Luca Giordano in Spain*

Dawson W. Carr

11 May 1983

*Max Ernst's Collage Novel, Une semaine de bonté: Sources and Scheme*

M. E. Warlick

### *Washington Area Art Historians Meetings*

14 October 1982

*"Embellishing the Temple of Liberty:" Observations on the Decoration of the U.S. Capitol*

Egon Verheyen, The Johns Hopkins University

14 December 1982

*The After Effects of American Impressionism*

Harry Rand, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

1 February 1983

*John F. Peto: A Case Study for Historians of American Art*

John Wilmerding, National Gallery of Art

26 April 1983

*Black Folk Art in the United States, 1930-1980*

Jane Livingston, Corcoran Gallery of Art

*For abstracts of lectures, see pages 29-33.*

## Lecture Abstracts

### THE PANTHEON

WILLIAM LOERKE

#### *Agrippa's Pantheon*

The remains of Agrippa's Pantheon came to light in the excavations of 1892-1893 conducted by P. O. Armanini under the supervision of Luca Beltrami. These foundations, underlying and abutting the podium of the present portico, together with a pavement found below the floor of the rotunda, have been interpreted as those of a temple facing south upon an open court. I interpret these remains as those of a propylaea with a colonnaded north façade and giving access to a circular court on the south.

This reinterpretation raises the question of what Agrippa's sanctuary was in 25 B.C., and why it was called a pantheon. Prior to 25 B.C., the term occurs only in inscriptions, where it figures as the title of a sanctuary, the name of a month, or the dedication of an altar. Its first appearance in literature was in Latin, with Pliny the Elder's references in the *Natural History* to Agrippa's sanctuary, written about a century after its dedication. It first appeared in a Greek text with Dio's reference to the same sanctuary, written about seventy-five years after Hadrian's Pantheon had been built. It appears to be a Hellenistic creation for cult purposes, first appearing at the end of the third century B.C. These data raise the question of the context in which Agrippa and Augustus learned of this term, and what it meant for them. The function of their sanctuary hinges on the current meaning of the term.

The recovery of Agrippa's Pantheon is important for several reasons. It sheds light on Augustus' political strategy in the decade after Actium. It must recast our analysis of Hadrian's Pantheon, since Agrippa's foundations determined the basic dimensions of that unique structure. Agrippa's Pantheon also set a challenge for Hadrian. Agrippa had presented the living Roman ruler as heir to Caesar and head of a dynasty associated with all the gods, thereby with the cosmos. This was done by the traditional means of dedicated statues. Hadrian, who had no truck with the concept of rule by family dynasties, had to find a way to express the equation "Roman rule equals divine rule in the cosmos," without reference to family clans and patron deities. He achieved this by the bold stroke of imposing a sphere on Agrippa's ground plan, imaging thereby the house of the gods, instead of merely housing their images. This bold decision, which Roman engineering

knew how to carry out, set a new challenge in the history of architecture: to express in the design of a building the meaning of its dedication.

The common term between Hadrian's temple and Agrippa's sanctuary is the term *pantheon*. In Agrippa's sanctuary you could deduce the cosmic meaning of the term by reading the labels of the statues. Hadrian's temple provides a palpable experience of this meaning. This experience has kept both the building and this rare term alive to our day.

Dumbarton Oaks and Catholic University

WILLIAM L. MACDONALD

*Hadrian's Pantheon: Theoretical Considerations*

At some point the tholos became the domed rotunda, the externalized form internalized. Looking for the causes of this, and for meaning in the resulting forms and in the cardinal example in particular, has been useful but inconclusive because of the complexity of the problem. That the Pantheon is a syncretistic monument, one reconciling different kinds and levels of meaning, is hardly a new idea. But as we know more than ever now about imperial civilization and architecture, a review of these matters and a discussion of some hypotheses may not be amiss. Ancient knowledge and preconceptions can be separated from modern data and attitudes, a first step in identifying what kinds of imagery and metaphor fit second-century possibilities. The results may profitably be combined with tendencies in earlier imperial architecture, particularly Augustan architecture, marking a trail leading to the Pantheon. Purpose can be divided into reasonably efficient categories, and form and number urged to give more evidence. Connections between the architecturally mature Euclidean forms of the rotunda and contemporary astronomy and cosmology offer promising opportunities, while on the other hand the building's relationship to the sphere of the earth should not be ignored. And the texts about both the building and its cultural context should be examined yet again.

Smith College

## WASHINGTON AREA ART HISTORIANS MEETINGS

EGON VERHEYEN

### *"Embellishing the Temple of Liberty:" Observations on the Decoration of the U.S. Capitol*

There can be little doubt that from the moment of its construction the Capitol of the United States has been considered the most important building of the Union. More than any other building, it was to symbolize the fact that the former colonies had formed a state and agreed—albeit reluctantly—to a centralized government. It is equally beyond doubt that from the very beginning, administrative and artistic difficulties impeded the progress of the work so that the modest building was completed only about thirty-five years after the ceremonial laying of the cornerstone.

From the very beginning, paintings and sculpture were to decorate the building. Pedimental groups and individual reliefs appear on almost all of the competition drawings, in some of Latrobe's drawings, and, most importantly, in the correspondence between individual artists and those from whom they solicited commissions. This evidence allows the reconstruction of a very colorful picture of arts and politics and reveals the forces responsible for the hiring of the artists and the decoration of the building.

This presentation will center on the rotunda of the Capitol and its eastern entrance and explore the various proposals under discussion before the middle of the nineteenth century. In any such discussion, the main emphasis must be placed on the question of significance and meaning of individual scenes. After all, it is in this building that the nation documents its claims and intentions in artistic terms.

The role Jefferson played in the planning and decoration of the Capitol is well known and documented; less known, however, is the extent of John Quincy Adams' involvement. "Few people in this country are aware of the fact that he is the source of all that is ornamental in the statuary sculpture about the Capitol.... How few would give credit if they did to the source from whence the taste really proceeded?" Perhaps the time has come to give credit to whom credit is due.

The Johns Hopkins University

HARRY RAND

### *The After Effects of American Impressionism*

"We have never claimed that 'avant-garde painting was the only guarantee of truth and beauty'; we have merely argued at length that recent tendentious attempts to deny the traditional and 'mythical' opposition between

avant-garde and official art make some of most important aspects of nineteenth century art unintelligible." Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, letter in reply to Robert Rosenblum, *New York Review of Books*, 23 September 1982.

"You can look it up." Casey Stengel (on numerous occasions).

The problem is that when the game became transatlantic the rules may not have stayed the same and what appeared to be academicism in Europe may have played a very different function in America.

Where can one go to find a concordance between the principal figures of the European avant-garde and the American experience of an emerging participation in modernism?

What would such an analysis resemble and what sources can be legitimately tapped?

What are the implications for our constructions of history if there is indeed a rift between the evolution of recent art in Europe and America that renders the classical terminologies and divisions of the period suspect?

"When Twachtman died in 1902 *everybody* was an Impressionist...." Richard J. Boyle

National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

## JOHN WILMERDING

### *John F. Peto: A Case Study for Historians of American Art*

The process of research on John F. Peto (1854-1907) has highlighted a number of critical issues and lessons for American art historians. A sustained, close scrutiny of the many still lifes painted by this Philadelphia-born artist begins to yield clarifications about neglected connoisseurship in this field, provocative correlations with other contemporary currents in American culture, and ultimately the meanings intimated by ordinary and familiar objects chosen for aesthetic attention.

First discovered in the shadow of his better-known and documented colleague, William M. Harnett, Peto was initially perceived to be an alternative romantic side of Harnett's personality. Later when a few signed Petos appeared, they were given forged Harnett signatures, compounding for decades the problem of both the relative financial and artistic worth of the two painters. But, in joining the issues of Peto's artistic achievements, we need not lower our estimation of Harnett. Due to a number of interlocking factors our inherited assessment of Peto is at least arguably uncertain and incomplete. Because the level of Harnett's technical accomplishments was so consistently high, and Peto's by contrast so distractingly uneven, we have not exercised sufficient artistic discrimination in evaluating the latter's work. The fact is that Peto's best paintings are not merely very different from Harnett's (for example, in employing trompe l'oeil subjects but not execu-

tion); they can ultimately be seen to carry profound meanings and feelings of their own. Peto's withdrawal from the artistic mainstream (by moving from Philadelphia to settle in mid-life in Island Heights, New Jersey), the fragmentary nature of records (and those extant never fully drawn on by previous biographers), and the dearth of his pictures appearing in contemporary exhibitions or in the subsequent art market—all have helped shape the image of a disorderly and flawed oeuvre.

Thus, the accidents of missing or ignored historical information, received perceptions, attention to biography more than iconography or cultural context, and less than rigorous connoisseurship have conspired until now to give us an incomplete appreciation of Peto.

National Gallery of Art

JANE LIVINGSTON

*Black Folk Art in the U.S.A.: 1930-1980*

Current "avant-gardism" in American painting has freely borrowed from so-called folk-art idioms. Self-taught artists or artisans in virtually every part of the United States have been discovered and collected—often clandestinely—by a few dealers and collectors, but primarily by the *artists*. Much highly sophisticated art of the 1970s and 1980s is demonstrably reliant on vernacular styles.

In researching the broad phenomenon of recent and contemporary folk art in the United States, Jane Livingston and John Beardsley began with an eye to clarifying the relation between self-consciously naive-looking contemporary art and its often hidden sources. What they found led to a radical departure from their original notion: they discovered a singularly coherent and highly developed subspecies of "folk art" in the hands of black Americans, located primarily in the deep South, and chronologically neatly circumscribed in the middle years of this century. The youngest artist working in this mode is in his sixties; most are deceased.

Twenty artists whose work spans a fifty-year period were singled out for an important exhibition; through this event, certain generalizations about recent American "folk art" have become clear for the first time. An examination of the style, technique, subject, and cultural sources for isolated black American artists illuminates contemporary American art in its broadest aspect and sheds light on a previously unacknowledged episode in the history of visual art in the United States.

Corcoran Gallery of Art



## MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS



## MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

The following research reports discuss work accomplished by members in residence at the Center during the period June 1982 to May 1983, and by several Predoctoral Fellows not in residence whose terms ended in August 1982. Additional reports by Predoctoral Fellows for the 1982-1983 academic year will be published in *Center 4*.

*Les mosaïques de pavement médiévales en France*

Les mosaïques de pavement médiévales constituent une partie importante du décor du monument médiéval. En France, la plupart d'entre elles ont été découvertes au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, au cours des travaux de restauration des différents monuments qui les avaient abritées au Moyen-Age. Aucune étude d'ensemble ne leur avait jusqu'ici été consacrée. Cette étude vise à restituer à cette technique artistique le rôle qui lui revient dans la conception et la construction de l'édifice médiéval. Il s'agit d'un chapitre jusqu'ici négligé de l'histoire de l'art médiéval d'Occident, et pourtant on saisit, à travers les sources médiévales comme à travers les mosaïques conservées, l'importance qu'avait le pavement dans l'architecture et l'iconographie globale de l'édifice médiéval.

Les vestiges de ce type de décor sont inégalement conservés, mais quarante-et-un exemples ont pu être étudiés. Dans le Midi de la France, pour le Sud-Ouest, Saint-Sever-sur-l'Adour, Sorde-l'Abbaye, Layrac, Moissac et Lescar; pour le Midi rhodanien, Cruas, Valence (Saint-Etienne et Saint-Apollinaire), Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux et Die; à Lyon, la cathédrale Saint-Jean, Saint-Martin d'Ainay avec la chapelle Saint-Blandine, Saint-Irénée et l'abbaye de l'Ile-Barbe; en Provence, Languedoc, Roussillon et Auvergne, Ganagobie, Nîmes, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, Saint-Julien-de-Brioude, Thiers et Beauregard-Vendon. Dans la Vallée de la Loire, Saint-Martin de Tours, Saint-Ours de Loches, la cathédrale d'Orléans et Saint-Etienne de Nevers; en Bourgogne, Cluny, Saint-Martin d'Autun, Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, Flavigny, Tournus et Vézelay. Dans le Nord de la France, la cathédrale Saint-Symphorien, Saint-Remi, Saint-Pierre-les-Dames et la chapelle Saint-Nicholas-de-l'Hôpital à Reims, Saint-Bertin à Saint-Omer, Saint-Denis et la cathédrale de Verdun.

La mosaïque de pavement médiévale, en tant que technique, doit être comparée et mise en rapport avec la mosaïque de pavement antique, notamment avec celle de l'Antiquité tardive. De là le choix d'un premier chapitre, déjà exposées auparavant dans plusieurs publications, montrent qu'il se dégage une certaine continuité entre l'Antiquité et le Moyen-Age, dans la mosaïque de pavement, sur un plan essentiellement local.

Le deuxième chapitre concerne une autre question préalable: que pensaient les contemporains du pavement médiévale? Les textes réunis peuvent être groupés en deux catégories principales: les descriptions visuelles ou poétiques des pavements médiévaux et les travaux encyclopédiques, traités liturgiques ou sermons traitant du symbolisme du pavement dans l'édifice médiéval.

Les matériaux, la technique et l'organisation du travail sur le chantier, ainsi que les mosaïstes eux-mêmes ont été étudiés grâce aux nombreuses observations techniques faites tant en France qu'en Italie. Ce dernier pays en effet, tout à fait privilégié quant au nombre de mosaïques de pavement romanes conservées, a été souvent utilisé tout au long de l'ouvrage pour de nombreuses comparaisons. Les différentes étapes d'exécution du pavement

roman ont pu ainsi être définies, de même que l'on a tenté de saisir le rôle social des artisans-mosaïstes.

La mosaïque n'occupe qu'une surface très réduite du sol de l'édifice médiéval, dont elle orne les parties privilégiées. D'autres types de revêtement l'accompagnent: *opus sectile*, *opus signinum*, pavements de plaques incrustées ou gravées, pavements de galets, labyrinthes, etc. A deux exceptions près, la partie du sol ornée de mosaïque se situe dans les environs immédiats de l'autel; elle met généralement en valeur le chœur et surtout l'autel. La mosaïque souligne en outre des dispositifs liturgiques qui ne se traduisent pas toujours sur le plan architectural. Les rapports entre la mosaïque de pavement et les tapis de sol ont été amplement évoqués.

Dans le cadre de l'étude iconographique des pavements l'intérêt s'est porté en premier lieu sur les personnalités qui ont commandé les pavements et qui de ce fait en ont choisi les programmes iconographiques. Les inscriptions soulignent en effet le rôle important du commanditaire.

Deux grandes idées dominent l'iconographie du pavement: celle de l'Ancien Testament, pris tout entier et dans ses moindres détails, en tant que préfiguration du Nouveau Testament, de la Loi du Christ, et celle de la vision encyclopédique, cosmographique et géographique du monde. Une part importante de cet ouvrage est consacrée à l'étude des différents thèmes iconographiques dans le cadre de la pensée médiévale, à l'emplacement et à la distribution des sujets figurés dans le pavement et aux rapports iconographiques avec les programmes muraux ou de façade.

La dernière partie de l'étude concerne l'étude stylistique des éléments figurés, végétaux et géométriques, notamment par rapport aux tissus et aux manuscrits avec lesquels les mosaïques de pavement présentent des contacts nombreux.

L'esquisse d'une évolution chronologique générale permet de conclure à une durée de production tout à fait éphémère et centrée essentiellement sur le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les mosaïques de pavement médiévales de France forment un tout homogène, notamment du point de vue iconographique. La mosaïque de pavement joue, dans l'édifice médiéval, un rôle des plus importants, au même titre que la peinture murale, la sculpture, ou la mosaïque pariétale.

Université de Haute Bretagne-Rennes II  
Visiting Senior Fellow, Fall 1982

*Connotative Meaning in Arabic Script: The Lām/Alif Ligature*

The premise for this research is that if the *lām/alif* metaphor suggesting man's union with God was an essential value for Islamic society, then the society would seek to reinforce and perpetuate it in ways that would be discernible. The research period at the Center was devoted to assessing how such a metaphorical meaning could be conveyed in a line of Arabic writing on an artifact.

It is my contention that if a line of writing on a public structure was intended to connote the metaphorical meaning of the *lām/alif* ligature, then this meaning would be signaled by a visual device recognizable to those within a population or within a given segment of it. The recognition of the device would be triggered by meaning conveyed by a contextual relationship of the device, the type of structure, placement of the structure, and denotative meaning of the script.

Most of my time was spent in attempting to formulate a methodology for evaluating at what point the relationships among building, script, and user suggest the presence of a connotative use of the *lām/alif* ligature. This investigation was based partly on orthography.

The question revolves around the markedness of the ligature in a line of script. The shape of the ligature *lām/alif* is interlocked: what then constitutes the foregrounding of the ligature in a line that is significant to signal difference? To this question must be added the consideration that the *lām/alif* ligature (L/indicator of long a) represents both a morpheme *Lā* meaning "No" and the phonemic sequences of L/long a in words like *salām* (peace, security) and L/short vowel as in *al-islam* (Islam). Thus the letter ligature *lām/alif* has three uses in the Arabic script, only one of which is the morpheme "*Lā*" or "No." It seems plausible that if there were a script where the *lām/alif* ligature, regardless of its orthographic function, was always foregrounded beyond the rules of the decorative formats for Arabic writing, then a subtle sign recognizable by the society might exist within the written line. Such attention to the ligature would serve to reinforce its morphemic meaning "No" on which its metaphorical meaning rested.

The metaphorical use of "No," *lām/alif*, relied on the relationship of the shape of the letters and their morphemic meaning, "No." Mystical expression and shifts in personal piety in the Islamic world multiplied the meaning of the *lām/alif*. It came to signal for some the ultimate negation of self, the saying of "No" to difference that made union with God possible. By approximately 1000 C.E. most of the mystical literature of wide circulation suggests that the *lām/alif* was the sign for those "saints, leaders, virtuous wives and mothers who died of divine love," thus achieving the negation of difference, the obliteration of self and union with God. The most widely circulated text singles out the house of Ali for this distinction.

The orthographic investigation of the *lām/alif* foregrounding in inscription lines called attention to inscriptions on certain funerary structures of Fatimid

Egypt. These structures commemorate the lives and deaths of various saints and holy figures, some from the house of Ali. Current research by other scholars suggests that these structures were part of a programmatic attempt on the part of the government to create a cult of saints for their own political needs and purposes.

Quite simply, the investigation up to this point has focused on a moment in time within the continuum of Islamic history when the religious sentiments of the rulers, of the population, of Islamic society as a whole in relationship to the political needs of the Fatimid rulers suggest a purpose for the use of the metaphor of *lām/alif*, and my orthographic work has suggested a manner by which the viewer's attention can be drawn to the continuing presence of the *lām/alif* ligature within a line of decorated script.

University of California, Los Angeles  
Associate, Fall 1982

*Meaning and Content in Winslow Homer's Art*

My work at the Center did not result in a book on meaning and content in Winslow Homer's art, as I too innocently thought that it might. But it did produce the shape, much of the substance, and more than a little of the text of that book. It also clarified the book's essential argument, nourished its ambition, and determined its form. The essential argument is not simply that Homer's paintings have meaning and content—anyone who admires them at all must feel that they do—but rather that their meanings are richer and more exact and their content more specific than discussions of Homer have usually indicated. The ambition, reinforced by successful interpretations of Homer's pictures, is to speak of Homer's artistic achievement and purpose with a new degree of certainty and conviction. The form of the book will not be conventionally monographic but will concentrate on discussions of particular paintings that are, or can be shown to be, keys to Homer's artistic understanding and reveal episodes in his artistic enterprise, or on critical passages in his artistic development.

The study of one of Homer's early paintings, *Veteran in a New Field* of 1865 in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, was particularly enlightening and encouraging. I had worked on the painting before coming to the Center. But I thought a great deal more about it while there, coming to see that the evidence it so abundantly provides of Homer's conscious and careful development of a symbol, and his use of symbolic references to address major issues and events of his time, not only allowed me to say much about that one painting, but gave reason to suppose that it was not a singular case in Homer's art.

*Veteran in a New Field* has also given me license to think of other paintings in symbolic terms. One such example is the National Gallery's *Breezing Up* (760) of 1876. It was received, when exhibited, with a critical warmth that none of Homer's paintings had enjoyed for a decade. Although none of its critics said so in as many words, the painting, by its spirited freshness and implication of unlimited possibilities of youthful energy and optimism, surely embodied the enthusiastic hopefulness of the Centennial year in which it was painted. That Homer sensed this mood and gave it symbolically pointed expression seems indicated by changes he made to enhance the painting's meaning—changes only faintly visible to the eye but which infrared photographs and the Gallery's infrared videcon make perfectly clear. The major change was the replacement, by an anchor, of a boy seated in the bow of the sailboat. An anchor is, of course, a completely plausible detail. Its addition, however, neither significantly increases the authenticity of the painting nor improves its pictorial construction. But since it does add the well-known symbol of hope that is so appropriate to the painting's spirit and to the spirit of the time in and for which it was made, it cannot be merely gratuitous.

The *Gulf Stream* of 1899 is one of Homer's major late paintings. Its depiction of a black sailor on a dismasted boat in the shark-infested, luridly red-

tinged, turbulent waters of the Gulf Stream inescapably suggests a reflection on mortality. Yet Homer made this general meaning more specific and more complex by placing on the bow of the boat (where, in a possibly meaningful dialogue with one of his earlier paintings, the anchor of hope was placed in *Breezing Up*) a cluster of symbols all of which refer to death and resurrection: a cross (cleat), broken column (mast), tomb (hatch), and shroud (sail).

Cases like these are not merely possible, more or less credible, readings of Homer's paintings, or ones into which symbols found their way without Homer knowing or caring that they were there. On the contrary, they are paintings purposely made symbolic, in which symbols have been knowingly developed and deployed. They are, therefore, evidence of consciousness and intelligence. On the basis of this evidence it is possible to construct a model of Homer's artistic mentality, or perhaps more exactly of his artistic enterprise in which that mentality plays a major part. That, at any rate, seemed a strong possibility at the close of my stay at the Center.

During the year I became particularly interested in Homer's style: its derivations and its function as an instrument of meaning. Homer's style has often been linked to that of other artists in order to indicate its sources or to describe his artistic affiliations and affinities. But Homer himself endorsed the following description of his relationship to other art and artists: "He works...in utter independence of schools and masters. His method is entirely his own." It is hard to believe this, but in an important way it may be true; not, however, as a description of how Homer actually made his art, but of how he thought art—and American art—should be made. The quotation describes an artistic posture and the place in it of ideas and beliefs, and in doing so it suggests that Homer's art was formed at least as much by what he thought as by what he saw of other art.

We know nothing from Homer himself of what he thought and have no indication that he had a carefully formulated theory of art. However, it is possible to argue, although not here, that ideas—of American democracy, of the relationship between nationality and art, of the importance of national artistic expression, and of artistic modernity (compounded of innovation, renovation, and contemporaneity)—constituted an artistic program that was an essential—perhaps *the* essential—factor in the formation of Homer's art. Such a program guided his choice of subjects, and it also to a very great extent determined his style.

If such a program ceased being applicable to Homer's later art, after about 1880, one of the reasons may be that the conditions and expectations upon which that program was founded in the middle 1860s had by then become so deformed and corrupted as to be no longer binding, and Homer disengaged himself from ideas and ideals that had been bound up with imperatives of time and place and spoke artistically in a more universal or a more private language (as in *The Gulf Stream*).

The University of New Mexico  
Senior Fellow, 1982-1983

*Perspective Story*

For the past several years, I have been working on a long-term project related to both my interests in the philosophy of art history and the relationship between artistic work and the general history of ideas, and more specifically the history of science and philosophy. My main concern has been to determine to what extent painting in the Renaissance may have, as the concept of *perspectiva artificialis*, furnished the inquiring mind with the grounds and means for a specific *travail de pensée*, not only in the artistic field, but also in the scientific and philosophical ones as well. The systematic reading and analysis of the treatises and the examination of the procedures for regrouping certain decisive works of the period had led us to question the possibility of writing a single "history" of perspective. Perspective surely contains material for several histories, if not for stories that are to be told on different levels and in different terms on the basis of regional problematics and diversified conceptualizations.

From its moment of origin, i.e., Brunelleschi's celebrated experiments or demonstrations, perspective has assumed the functions of both an epistemological model and, in relation to painting, of a regulating apparatus (Leonardo da Vinci: *la prospettiva, briglia e timone della pittura*), the position of which, overlapping as it does the borderline between art history and the history of science, is difficult to locate. Instead of a progressive and cumulative evolution, complying with an unequivocal and transparent finality, the "invention" of perspective paved the way for a series of regional developments, or *relèves* (in the Hegelian sense of an *Aufhebung*) which were to take place in the field of art, in set design (with Serlio), in geometry (with Desargues), as well as in mathematics and philosophy (with Descartes, Pascal, and Leibnitz).

If we are to accept those premises, the entire history of perspective theory and practice has to be reconsidered. For instance, we can no longer accept Panofsky's view, according to which the tracing of the receding lines of the checkered ground-plane toward one single vanishing point, as accomplished by the end of the fourteenth century, already implied a notion of space as infinite, homogeneous, and continuous. On the contrary, as exemplified in Alberti's *Della Pittura* and Piero della Francesca's *De Prospettiva Pingendi*, the perspective setting of the scene and of the *termine*, i.e., the projective plane, supposed a heterogeneity, a discontinuity, and a finiteness. But in order to understand this, one has to look at the system of the *costruzione legittima* not only or primarily as an illusionistic device, but as a symbolic one, with reference both to the Imaginary and the Real. Controversial and intricate as it may sound, the whole "history," the whole work on the "distance point," has to be interpreted, in linguistic terms, as the production of an "apparatus of enunciation" that should be analyzed in its own terms and following its own direction.



During my stay at the Center, I dealt mainly with two issues. The first is related to the so-called Urbinate perspectives. A great deal of literature has been devoted to these three famous panels in Urbino, Baltimore, and Berlin, with the result that, in terms of connoisseurship, their attribution, dating, and even localization has changed considerably in the last fifty years. In terms of meaning, there is no less confusion: Richard Krautheimer's argument about "the tragic and comic scene in the Renaissance" has not been generally accepted. But it still offers an unsurpassed model of systematic analysis which equals Fiske Kimball's minuteness in dealing with the architectural content of these panels.

A structuralist approach leads us to deal with these panels in quite a different way. Here I refer to structuralism not as an ideology (as it has been too often received in the United States), but as a method which obeys specific rules and provides a vigorous procedure for description. My main aim has been to demonstrate that these three panels constitute a group of transformations in the mathematical sense: every feature which occurs in one of the panels reappears in the other two, but transformed in a systematic way. The group is so consistent that the absence of one feature in one panel does make sense and has to be recognized as a sign which is part of the overall system. The device or apparatus corresponding to such a group of transformations provides evidence of a reflexive approach to the problem of the vanishing point and its location on the plane as well as in the distance.

The second issue, to which I devoted most of my time, was finding a glass or a filter through which to reconsider the entire theoretical development which started with Brunelleschi and Alberti. The important Leonardo da Vinci material in the library of the National Gallery enabled me to become deeply involved in Leonardo's manuscripts and the literature devoted to this aspect of his work. My approach consisted of considering the text as a whole, presenting a system of aporias which shed unexpected light on the problems that a mind such as Leonardo's confronted when dealing with perspective. Contrary to accepted opinion, Leonardo's approach to constructed perspective was not "progressive." While on the one hand he explicitly called for the development of physical optics, on the other, he was totally unaware of the decisive theoretical move that led Alberti and Piero to ignore the "eye" and to reduce it to a point, a move which was to be of great significance for mathematics and the establishing of the subject matter of classical science.

Ultimately, my research on the origin and historical development of perspective should be part of a long-range project on the role, in the history of Western thought, of the model of the orthogonal grid, more precisely the bi-colored chessboard. Introduced as it was in Europe in the tenth-eleventh century, the game of chess was immediately seen to be a metaphor for the whole range of social interaction, from love to war. That is to say, three centuries before it was to be set into perspective, the scene which provided the basis for the *costruzione legittima* was already established as the ground of the *storia* that Alberti regards as the ultimate goal of painting.

Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris  
Senior Fellow, fall 1982

*Popular Imagery and High Art in Nineteenth-Century France*

My project for the year was to study the problems involved in explaining the phenomenon of the French realist painters' interest in and use of popular imagery. The early nineteenth century saw the development of the new pictorial print media of lithography and wood engraving in France, concurrent with the rise of mass-circulation newspapers and the development of the modern novel. The realist painters Courbet, Manet, and Degas were among the first artists to grow up with this proliferation of mass-produced pictures, and scholarship has shown that their art was affected by it. But while many instances of the influence of popular and commercial imagery have been adduced in the literature on these painters, no systematic study has been made of the extent of their interest or the reasons for it. I am at work on a book devoted to this subject.

Social, technological, and demographic change in the nineteenth century forms the background for this phenomenon. In contrast to the folkloric legends, maxims, and religious imagery of the earlier woodcut broadside, the subject matter of the new print media was urban and contemporary. At the same time, in the world of high art, the waning of aristocratic patronage and the triumph of a large, wealthy, but less educated middle class affected the style and subject matter of Salon painting in complex ways. While one camp (the *juste milieu* and the academics) successfully met this change with idealized but realistic history paintings and a new array of pathetic, story-telling genre, another (the realists) sought to replace humanist subject matter altogether with the everyday imagery of the man in the street and the man-about-town. Their subject matter alienated the bourgeois audience as much as their technique.

Examination of mass-produced popular imagery makes it clear that many of the realists' subjects were derived ready-made from that imagery. Such subjects were not normally a matter of simple realistic transcription of life but involved the repetition of themes from a social mythology.

As long as historians have taken note only of Daumier among the caricaturists as an influence on realist art, they have recognized little of this mythology. The mythological aspect, however, lends a new cast to what much of realist iconography signifies. Therefore, no matter how convenient, it is probably no longer accurate to call artists such as Courbet, Manet, and Degas realists. Other designations must be found to distinguish them from the ranks of realistic painters who had little in common with their aims.

It is clear that an iconography consisting of contemporary genre was no more the creation of early nineteenth-century *imagiers* than it was of the realist painters. A tradition reaching back through the eighteenth century to Flemish and Dutch realism of the seventeenth century was transmitted directly and without a break by figures like Debucourt, Boilly, and Drolling into the pictorial production of the mass media during the neoclassic and romantic era, except that by the 1820s the subjects had become distinctly

urban. But while urban subject matter can be found by mid-century in bourgeois art throughout Europe, it is only in France that the vanguard created an irreverent counterculture that I find it useful to call the "bohemian elite."

It is this "bohemian elite" that becomes crucial to an understanding of the adoption of popular imagery in French vanguard art. Alongside the mass-produced imagery that came to serve the bourgeoisie, such as the wood-engraved illustrations in *L'Illustration* and *Magasin Pittoresque*, another class of images appeared, most of it in lithography and some of it later replaced by photography, destined for a clientele whose sentiments and mores were at odds with bourgeois respectability. The images included not only humorous representations of the seamy side of Parisian life, but also an abundant supply of erotic subjects that bear witness to an intense interest in the sector of life most assiduously repressed by middle class morality. Thus the profligate mores of the aristocracy under the *ancien régime* came into contact, in images, with those of the *grisette* and the *gamin de Paris* and were obsessively celebrated by high *littérateurs* like Baudelaire and turned into innocently erotic stories by low novelists like Paul de Kock.

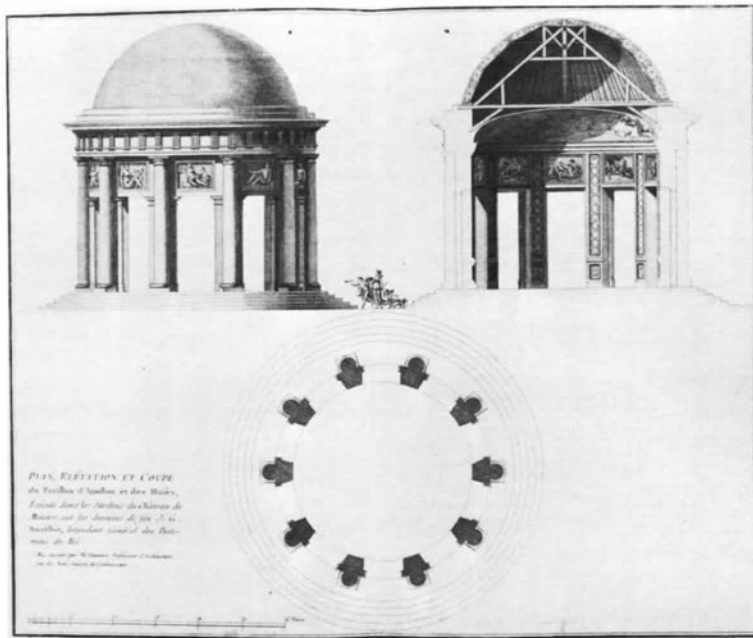
Courbet's art has been associated in the literature with anti-bourgeois sentiment identifying the painter's interests with those of the working class, at least up to about 1855. After that time it is difficult to trace this association, although the importance scholars have attached to Courbet's political involvement in the Commune has tended to obscure the nature of the change in his art that led him to identify himself more consistently with another anti-bourgeois camp, that of the "bohemian elite." Manet and Degas were virtually born into this camp. Their differing left-right politics were of less consequence than their shared anti-bourgeois artistic stance, an attitude sharpened by contrast with the mediocrities of taste and the authoritarian rule of the Second Empire, which became the common enemy.

Finally, there is the problem of the relation of the "bohemian elite" to society and culture in general. Such a group defies the idea of class and stands in opposition to the dominant culture, while paradoxically combining elements from the very high and the very low: aristocratic superiority of style and expression at the service of low subject matter—with the expectation that a hated middle class would nevertheless undertake its patronage. This expectation points to the continuing dilemma of the modern vanguard artist.

The fact that it was these artists, and not others, who were to affect profoundly the future of French art makes it imperative to understand what they did, and why. With what seems like prophetic power, they touched on matters of both form and content that probed the changing culture in sensitive places. They seem to have acknowledged and even embraced the results of social change with a degree of equanimity unacceptable to the dominant culture. A major part of the evidence for this acknowledgment was the use of popular imagery that served a lower culture and that transmitted the message taken up by the realists as "modernism." Thus popular imagery becomes one of the keys to unlocking the mysteries of the still-unknown nineteenth century.

*Royal Art Patronage in Ancien Régime France:  
The Role of the Marquis de Marigny*

The goal of this study of Louis XV's director of royal works from 1751 to 1773 is to analyze one man's career as France's official patron of the arts and as a notable personality of the Enlightenment. Abel-François Poisson de Vandières, Marquis de Marigny et de Menars (1727-1781) was Madame de Pompadour's younger brother and a member of the Parisian bourgeoisie who came to be France's foremost champion of the arts and one of the most important private collectors and builders of his generation. I will attempt to define his contribution in reorienting the goals of royal art patronage, his working relationship with Louis XV, and his professional and private tastes. A clear view of Marigny's role as directeur des bâtiments will contribute to a reevaluation of the influence of official art patronage on the history of style in eighteenth-century France.



Dumont after Soufflot, *Plan, elevation and section of the Pavillon of Apollo and the Muses in the garden of the Chateau of Menars*, engraving, c. 1775, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.

My work during the spring of 1983 consisted in writing three chapters of a book on royal art patronage under Marigny. These chapters deal with his life history and that of his family, the rise of Madame de Pompadour and Marigny's relationship to her, and his appointment and training for the post of Directeur et Ordonnateur Général des Bâtiments, Jardins, Arts, Academies, et Manufactures du Roi. This preparation included his private and university education and his well-known but little-studied grand tour to Italy from 1749 to 1751, taken in company with the architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot, the printmaker-author Charles-Nicholas Cochin fils, and the critic Abbé Le Blanc.

These chapters were complemented by a colloquium paper on the public spirit and personal taste of Louis XV's director of works, which permitted me to make an initial evaluation of much new material pertaining to Marigny's private collection and the garden design for his château at Menars in the Loire Valley.

My work at the Center will be added to two chapters already written, treating case studies of several of the most important royal commissions of Marigny's tenure including the effort to complete the Louvre, the commission to Vernet for the *Ports of France*, the commands for the château of Choisy-le-Roi, and Soufflot's project for Sainte Genèvieve (the Pantheon).

There now remain three chapters to complete: Marigny's life and personal collecting during his tenure; Marigny's patronage during his retirement; and the history and organization of the bâtiments du roi administration, along with several appendices.

Trinity College  
Associate, spring 1983

*Studies in Social Functions of Art and Architecture*

An otherwise extraordinary diversity of projects upon which I was engaged during my second year at the Center was interrelated by a common foundation in the methodology of social function—or, to put it another way, the usages of arts and artifacts for the study of history.

In the area of North American architecture, I completed a three-part series on "Canada's Urban History in Architecture," published in *Urban History Review*, as a demonstration of the principle that buildings should be perceived not merely as aesthetic objects or reflections of their times or as means of architects' personal self-expression, but as instruments functioning to promote certain values and ideals which constitute those continuing principles and convictions upon which the endurance of any society or state or community ultimately depends. In "Signs and Symbols, Styles and Types—a Study of Interrelationships in North American Architecture," my main project at the Center (described in *Center 2*), there was a major breakthrough (to borrow art jargon): the meaning and social function of styles may change according to the type of building upon which they are employed. At one level I had long been aware of this, as for example in the difference between the associations of Gothic Revival forms as employed for a national style in the British Empire c. 1815-1875 and as employed in the United States, and I had written about it several times, most recently in a review of Girouard's *Return to Camelot* and Irving's *Indian Summer*, written while at the Center for *Architectura*. But for some reason it never fully occurred to me to carry this principle onto a broad general level and thereby perceive that, for example, revived Graeco-Roman classical forms have a different set of connotations when employed upon government buildings (courthouses, capitols, etc.) than when employed upon banks, and different again from both when employed on university/college buildings—and so on, through all styles and types.

A related problem was addressed in my colloquium paper: "Temples for True Believers: On the Social Function of Galleries and Museums in the Modern World." All sorts of such institutions can be found, dedicated variously to science, to technology, to history and natural history, and to every kind of art. Once you realize that they all function within a context of promoting a common system of belief in science, then the differences in social function among them become explicable; even the West and East Buildings of the National Gallery have variant social functions, appropriately manifest in their architectural styles.

Another instance of art serving as an instrument to promote and perpetuate ideas is provided by popular/commercial arts like comic strips. A detailed study of how these arts carry on traditional social functions of historic arts was published during my residency at the Center: *Learning to See: Historical Perspectives on Modern Popular/Commercial Arts*. Also during 1982-1983 I organized and mounted one of the first serious exhibitions of popular/commercial art in terms of social function, *E.C. Segar's Popeye: American Culture Hero*, held

# Let Wardway Owners Tell You What Real Building Satisfaction Means

Photographs of Homes  
Built by Wardway Owners



**Finest Home in Our Community**  
"Thanks to you we have the finest home in our community, and miss no opportunity to praise Wardway Homes. We like the Ready-Cut system and had no trouble erecting the house. Everyone remarked about the high grade lumber. We saved a great deal of money."  
George F. Gordon,  
Crownsville, Md.

**Lumber Superior and Saved \$1,000**

"In comparing my home with another just being built on an adjoining lot, I am more than ever pleased with my Wardway. Our lumber is far superior, and my house is certain to be warmer. I am no carpenter but have been able to erect my own home with a large saving of labor, which together with the saving of lumber amounted to over \$1,000."  
Wynskill, New York.

## "My Ready-Cut Home Was Built in Nine Days"

"My Ready-Cut Home, including garage, was built and ready for plaster in nine days after materials arrived. Everything fit perfectly. We worked four days without using a saw, and then only to cut a hole for the chimney. Specifications and general construction details were better than found in any house in Beatrice."

"You furnish plenty of dimension lumber for frame work. The ceiling, joists, floor joists and rafters caused a great deal of favorable comment. All dimension lumber and studs were even in size and free from knots and imperfections. I saved at least \$500 and a lot of time."

E. J. Lewis,  
Beatrice, Neb.

## Ready-Cut System Easy and Simple

"I am more than pleased with my home. The material was far better than I could buy here, and I saved a third. Your Ready-Cut system is so easy and simple. I had more than enough material, and am certainly pleased."

A. Zemlicka,  
South Shore, R. D.



## Built Home in Spare Time

"Have been living in my 'Parson's' Home since last November. I saved over \$300 and excellent material. There was more than enough. Worked eight hours a day on machine and built my home in my spare time. I got a first class job."

S. Wrensky,  
Allamore, Nebraska.

All Letters Printed by  
Permission



## Attended at Quality of Materials

"Many contractors and builders expressed surprise at the superior and expert work in erecting the house, and they were astonished at the quality of the materials and the excellent plan. I saved several hundred dollars."  
R. D. Proudhon,  
Hartmann, Mo.

## Friends Surprised

"We were so proud of our home. Many friends and strangers who saw the picture and they were surprised and pleased with the room and materials. They never fail to mention the fine workmanship and I think the credit the last I ever bought."  
Herman Froudel,  
S. Haven, Mich.

## More Than Satisfied

"I am more than satisfied. I saved \$300. The materials do perfectly. Thirty or forty people who examined it called it perfect. One of them liked it so well he stole the blueprints."  
J. Edwin Allen,  
Wrentham, Mass.

## Could Have Sold It Twice

"I am highly pleased with my Wardway Home and could have sold it twice. Everything fit accurately as guaranteed. I saved about \$200."  
Jacob T. Lord,  
Hershey, Pa.



"Ready-Cut Home," Wardway Homes Catalogue, Montgomery Ward, 1927.

Build a Wardway and You Build Better for Less

at the National Museum of American History from 1 April to 31 July 1983, and published a study entitled *Prophetic Allegory: Two Classics of American Art by E.C. Segar*.

Midway between the strictly popular/commercial and the high art of architecture proper comes the subject matter of the book I wrote during the summer of 1982: *The Comfortable House: American Popular Domestic Architecture 1890-1930*. It is a study of how a new type of house, neither urban nor rural in the old senses—suburban if you like, always recalling that "suburban" may include small towns and city outskirts as well as suburbs in the strict or legal sense—was developed in response to the growth of cities and new patterns of transportation in the late nineteenth century. The book also considers how these houses were designed and distributed in such huge numbers (more, probably, than the entire production of houses in the previous history of the United States), and what they can tell us about the aspirations and expectations of Americans in those decades. Special emphasis is placed on mail-order houses, especially those prefabricated for shipment and assemblage on the spot. This book will be copublished by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press in Cambridge and *The Old-House Journal* in Brooklyn.

University of Victoria, British Columbia  
Senior Fellow, 1981-1982 and 1982-1983

*Joan Miró's Head of a Catalan Peasant*

In 1981 the National Gallery acquired *Head of a Catalan Peasant* (2846), one of a series of four works with the same title and similar format painted by Joan Miró between 1924 and 1925. This group of paintings is extremely important in the development of Miró's art; in them we see the artist moving away from the standard cubist scaffolding toward an open field of modulated color punctuated and organized by the graphic sign. Their bold reductiveness catapulted Miró to the head of the avant-garde in Paris within five years of his arrival there. During my tenure at the Center, my endeavors were directed toward a more precise description of the formal accomplishments represented by these works, including the influences which permitted the success of Miró's effort to "break the cubist guitar" and the implications for his later stylistic development. However, the specific focus of my research was upon the spare schematic "portraits" as bearers of specific meaning, meaning not arising simply from the artist's sentimental attachment to his homeland, as his paintings of Catalan subjects traditionally have been described, but directly related to contemporary events. My studies have led me to believe that the sign-quality of the image in these works is directly related to a sign-function. By means of the reduction of form to its most salient features, most prominently the imposing vertical and horizontal axes of the face and the Catalan *barretina*, the emblematic nature of the subject is expressed.

When Miró left Barcelona in 1920 to live in Paris for half of each of the succeeding dozen years, he removed himself from the site of intense social and political unrest. The Catalan nationalist movement was reeling from its latest setback in the Spanish parliament which had again rejected a statute of autonomy for Catalonia, despite its overwhelming approval by the Catalan people. Impatient young radicals in the movement, including a number of painters and poets, were allying themselves with the militant anarchist parties to which much of Catalonia's working class belonged. Strikes and clashes among these groups, police, and hired gunmen made normal life in Barcelona impossible. Reaction against the disorder would soon culminate in Primo de Rivera's barring of public demonstration of Catalan national identity: no flag flying, no official use of the national language, no singing of the national anthem.

After 1920 the focus of the separatist movement, as it became during that decade, shifted to Paris. While Miró was not an outspoken member of the Parisian cabala, like the others he had migrated there to become an "international Catalan." Implicit in his use of that byword was the conviction that no future existed for the development of Catalan culture within Catalonia itself, now dominated by the conservative Lliga which Miró decried in his letters for its impotent "chattering." Indeed, Miró's involvement in the Catalan autonomy movement was already suggested in works from the pre-Paris years, most obviously in his *Self-Portrait as a Catalan peasant* of 1919, the political meaning of which seems substantiated by the artist's notes from the



early 1940s. His swift assimilation of and development beyond the most advanced painting in Paris may also be viewed, in part, as informed by his background, by the fierce anti-authoritarianism that during his youth set the Catalonians first toward a renewal of their cultural traditions, next toward recognition of national sovereignty, and finally toward complete separation from Spain.

The *Heads* of 1924-1925 represent a formal reduction of the earlier self portrait. At the same time they represent a conceptual expansion. The subject itself is more than a schematized portrait. The peasant in traditional garb—even in the sparest of Miró's works, the Catalan *barretina* remains—is an emblem of Catalonia much like the flag. It presents a visual analog for the national anthem *Els Segadors*, which refers to the defense of Catalonia by an army of Catalan peasants in 1640. During the two years in which Miró painted the series of *Heads*, Francesc Macià, the leader of the separatist party, Estat Català, was organizing an army of expatriates and mercenaries to liberate Catalonia. The attempt was foiled when Macià and his troops were arrested in October of 1926 before crossing the Pyrenees. Miró's later return to the image of the Catalan peasant when Catalonia's independence was again at stake during the Spanish Civil War, this time quite obviously referring to the War of *Els Segadors*, would seem further to imply a connection between the *Heads* and contemporary events. Had the effort to free Catalonia succeeded, these paintings could have been viewed as proclamations of liberation. The omission of extraneous detail and the simultaneous recognition of surface and suggestion of infinite space gives the images a form and presence that captures one's attention like a banner held aloft by a liberating army or a cryptic sign emblazoned across the sky.

Miró's affection for his country and the inspiring particularities of places where he had lived have often been recounted in the literature, but, with the exception of that given to his works from the Civil War years, no attention has been paid to the situation of his works within the context of specific contemporary events. This omission has been due to a mistaken view of Miró as naive and apolitical and the desire to dissociate his work from surrealism and see it as most advanced art of this century has been viewed, i.e., divorced from its historical milieu and especially from politics. In my opinion, an understanding of the formal development of Miró's art and of encoded meaning is enhanced by considering its response to that milieu. From Miró's early concern for the freedom of Catalonia and what appears to be specific references to that issue in his art, his involvement broadened as his vocabulary of images became less specific. However, the formula for this approach was stated by the series, *Head of a Catalan Peasant*. There Miró began to evolve what has become a lifelong preoccupation to show through his art that "I have helped liberate, not only painting, but also the spirit of man" (Georges Raillard, *Joan Miró: Ceci est la couleur de mes rêves*, Paris, 1977, p. 225).

Duke University  
Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1982

*Frederic Church and the North American Landscape*

Frederic Church is best known today as a master of large-scale, meticulously finished paintings depicting exotic scenes. Such works as *The Heart of the Andes* (1859) and *The Icebergs* (1861) made Church famous in his own day and have secured his reputation in the present. In my dissertation I have chosen to concentrate, instead, on his North American landscapes, which represent a less well-known, but equally important, aspect of his creative output.

My research originally focused on a series of resplendent twilight landscapes from the late 1840s and the 1850s, with special emphasis on the genesis of Church's greatest North American landscape, *Twilight in the Wilderness* (1860). This group includes approximately a dozen important paintings (e.g., *Twilight*, *Short Arbiter 'Twixt Day and Night*, 1850; *Beacon off Mount Desert*, 1851; *Mount Katahdin*, 1853; *A Country Home*, 1854; *Sunset*, 1856) and numerous related works. While I recognized from the outset that these paintings could be considered a "series" only in the most general sense—as opposed to more tightly defined groups such as Monet's views of Rouen Cathedral or Lane's paintings of Brace's Rock—I proposed to discuss them as a coherent thematic group. Initially, it seemed to me that their most important shared characteristic was the time of day portrayed, which was occasionally sunrise, but more often sunset. However, the more I studied these paintings, the more I became convinced that the best approach would be a consideration of the way each work depicted the North American landscape in general, rather than twilight in particular. It quickly became apparent that over the course of the series Church's conception of his native land changed dramatically, and my new focus became to chart this change. The twilight paintings retain a central place in this study, but I have expanded its scope to include other major North American landscapes such as *New England Scenery* (1851) and *Home by the Lake* (1852). Thus, the dissertation has evolved into an examination of Church's most important North American landscapes from the first fifteen years of his career (with the exception of *Niagara*, which has been thoroughly discussed elsewhere), with particular emphasis on the interpretation of their content and meaning.

Certain themes have been stressed throughout my investigation. One of the most important has been Church's role in continuing the landscape tradition initiated by his teacher, Thomas Cole. Many scholars have argued that Church rejected this tradition in favor of a scientific realism that eschewed the deeper levels of content Cole considered essential to elevated art. In fact, quite the opposite is true, for Church continually explored ways in which landscape could be made to rise above the merely descriptive and convey profound meaning. In doing so, he often turned to his teacher's art for inspiration; thus Church's early *Hooker Party* (1846) and *West Rock* (1849) are treatments of subjects suggested by Cole himself, while *New England Scenery* of 1851 is a deliberate reformulation of *The Pastoral State* from *The Course of Empire*. Although such direct references to his master's work would disappear

from Church's art by the mid-1850s, all of his great epic landscapes, including *Twilight in the Wilderness*, may be interpreted as fusions of straightforward landscape subjects with complicated constructs of underlying meaning that recall the allegorical and moralizing cycles of Cole.

In interpreting Church's paintings, I have relied heavily on contemporary exhibition reviews and discussions of the artist. New York newspapers and journals have proven to be an extremely rich source, and I have been able to locate numerous highly informative accounts. In some cases (e.g. *The Wreck* of 1852 and *A Country Home* of 1854) such accounts have enabled identification of important North American works not previously known by their correct titles, thus providing a much clearer understanding of Church's career.

The overall theme that has emerged in my study concerns Church's changing attitude to the North American landscape during the period 1845-1860 as seen against the general background of American culture. His earliest works were pastoral celebrations of the American land that stressed a peaceful interaction between man and nature. As such, they reflect an optimistic faith in American destiny that saw no conflict between the progress of civilization and the natural order of the world. By the mid-1850s, Church had begun to shift his viewpoint toward a pure wilderness aesthetic in which all traces of humanity are purged from the scene. Like other sensitive observers of his day, Church had recognized the potential dangers in the unchecked spread of progress and the threat it posed to nature. With *Twilight in the Wilderness* he created his *summa* of the American landscape in a pure wilderness image that has a complex structure of meaning involving the role of nature in the national identity, the course of contemporary political events, and his own religious faith.

During my year in residence at the Center I was able to complete research and write a first draft of the dissertation. I also worked on several projects for the Gallery. Throughout the year I did research for the American Paintings Department and prepared catalogue entries on works by Heade, Dewing, Duveneck, and Carlsen. In addition, I worked on organizing a small exhibition of Church's North American landscapes to be held at the Amon Carter Museum in the spring of 1984. This exhibition will bring together, for the first time, many of the works discussed in my dissertation and will also provide an opportunity for publication of a portion of my research. While at the Center I also completed a study of Thomas Cole's paintings of Mount Etna, which was published in the journal of the Virginia Museum and which will also be included in a forthcoming volume of essays on the painter.

[University of Delaware]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1981-1983

*Architecture and Town Planning During the New Deal Period*

My main activity during my two-month stay at the Center was to put together the necessary documents for research on architecture and town planning during the New Deal. Now, on the basis of this documentation, I am proceeding toward its interpretation.

My approach has been determined by my previous research, in particular that on Soviet architecture from 1919 to 1953 (the twenties and the Stalin period) which clearly brought out the relationship between the political, economical, and social problems of a given historical period and its architectural expression. The originality of the New Deal period made me think that its architecture and planning could be similarly analyzed.

It is common knowledge that one of the essential characteristics of the New Deal period was that the federal government acted in fields which were until then the province of private initiative founded on the profit motive or, at times, on philanthropy. To intervene in areas from which it had previously been excluded, the federal government had to create specialized agencies such as the W.P.A. and the P.W.A., whose voluminous records provided a wealth of information about not only housing and town planning, but all sorts of other cultural developments of the period.

My documentary research involves the following fields:

1. History of the United States
2. Economic and planning problems
3. History and theories of American architecture
4. Government and architecture
5. Slums: history and problems
6. Polemics about "modern" architecture
7. Former Bauhaus members in the United States
8. Teaching of architecture
9. The New Deal and the arts
10. Activities and records of the P.W.A.
11. Unbuilt America
12. Housing: definitions and history
13. Social housing
14. American utopian socialism
15. Government housing: pros and cons
16. Housing: foreign experiences
17. Housing: standards and norms
18. Housing: techniques and methods
19. Financial problems
20. Architects: professional problems
21. The Tennessee Valley Authority
22. Existing examples
23. New towns: Greenbelt towns and homesteads

In addition to my bibliographical research done primarily at the Library of

Congress and the library of the American Institute of Architects, I visited and photographed a number of sites near Washington and in New York State and New Jersey. This on-site observation helped me to correct certain pre-suppositions.

1. It was in housing that the New Deal carried out its most original innovations, although the P.W.A. was, of course, also involved in other projects such as schools, post offices, universities, administrative buildings, prisons, roads, squares, and the like. Therefore, I have decided to concentrate my research on the question of housing as being most critical for the period.

2. Despite the important new theories of housing typical of the 1930s and the considerable exposure of Bauhaus members when they came to the United States, their actual influence on housing practices was negligible.

3. In a country where single family housing had been the norm, the New Deal had to be innovative in devising diverse types of collective housing. Some of the innovations had an economic motivation; others were inspired by theories, in particular those of Catherine Bauer. Then again, it was an age with strong natural sympathies for collective lifestyles, and that must have had some effect.

4. In contrast to the remarkably original work of many New Deal artists, architecture and city planning under the New Deal was conservative. The reason, it would seem, was that architectural commissions came through city or state agencies on the basis of federal grants and were executed by local architects already on civic payrolls. Furthermore, innovation was inhibited in architecture because so much greater funding was involved, with corresponding greater risk. Only occasionally did ideological considerations encourage originality—the Karl Mackley housing development in Philadelphia (architects: Kastner and Stonorov) sponsored by the Ladies Garment Workers Union (C.I.O.) is an example.

5. Because of this difference between the arts and architecture, I have felt it legitimate to expand my field of inquiry beyond architecture into other arts.

6. Much greater originality existed in city planning during the New Deal. New towns and cities—greenbelt towns—were for their time very innovative even if, on the international level, they were partly inspired by English garden towns and, of course, the T.V.A. was one of the all-time great examples of regional planning.

Université de Paris VIII

Visiting Senior Fellowship, summer-fall 1982

*The Uses of History in Modern Architecture: Government Buildings and Urbanism since 1870*

During the last hundred years, government has been one of the largest patrons of architecture in Western, industrialized countries. Parliament buildings, ministries, law courts, post offices, city halls, civic centers, government office buildings of all types—all these have been built or rebuilt in great numbers by new governments to serve the needs of new political systems in the new context of the modern city. Yet, until very recently, these buildings constructed by government have been almost entirely ignored by architectural historians.

There are several reasons for this neglect. At least until 1945, government buildings in Europe and the United States invariably made some sort of reference to historic styles; architectural historians have therefore tended to regard such buildings as debased imitations of early nineteenth-century stylistic revivals. Secondly, the sheer number of buildings involved requires a summary approach which has remained uncongenial to most architectural historians. Moreover, the numbers and locations of government buildings in this period require consideration of both urbanism and politics: questions of visibility within the city, apparent accessibility from the street, and the relation of functional arrangements to internal circulation patterns, have to be answered in order to understand the political intent of both patrons and architects. Yet it is precisely the political aspect of government buildings in the modern period which has led many architectural historians to dismiss them out of hand as “mere” expressions of ideology. Thus, behind the neglect of the study of the government buildings built since 1870 lies a particular view of the discipline of architectural history—a cult of originality and a desire to study only “master works,” out of context. Such attitudes, encouraged by a few modern architects and their apologists, have often blinded scholars to what was actually built, and why.

In the past few years, a number of writers in the United States and Europe have begun to illuminate these blind spots. My own recent work has focused on the nature of monumentality within the urban environment and on the use of historical references in government buildings since the later nineteenth century. In my opinion, the use of historical references in this period has been greatly misunderstood. The choice, for example, of “neo-French-Renaissance” motifs for the new Hôtel de Ville in Paris (1874-1884), or “neo-Baroque” for the Palazzo di Giustizia in Rome (1888-1910), had less to do with the traditional associations of these styles than has usually been supposed, and more to do with the usefulness of these decorative patterns in scaling down two very large buildings and making them appear relatively penetrable. Similarly, the “neo-Romanesque” and “stripped classical” forms which came to be very widespread between 1900 and 1945, often created an appearance of greater monumentality for government buildings which were now smaller and more extensively differentiated. On the other hand,

the building types which were used as models for such buildings—the château and the palace in the first two cases; the temple, the fortress, and the tomb in the later ones—were, I think, far more significant in their associations and in their ideological implications than has usually been understood.

My term at the Center was spent developing these ideas in a typological study of government buildings in Europe and the United States since about 1870. I had completed most of the research on the period up to 1945 before I came to the Center; my research effort in Washington therefore focused on the period since 1945. From 1945 to about 1975, references to the traditional historic styles were of course increasingly discarded in government buildings in both Europe and the United States, although one version of stripped classicism persisted for a time in Soviet Russia, and another remains quite vigorous in Washington. After 1945 one can observe the development of what Nikolaus Pevsner called “the new historicism,” that is, a tendency among postwar architects to quote familiar motifs and forms from the early or “heroic” phase of the development of the “modern movement”; such quotations are important both formally and symbolically. But again, it is the building types used as models which are most significant, and these, in the very large-scale buildings and building complexes of the postwar period, come from the relatively large-scale, recent past. Among these models are the great urban skyscraper, the large wall, and the self-contained town or village. Each in its own way creates what Adolf Max Vogt calls a “city-within-the-city”; each appears both impenetrable and overwhelmingly monumental from without, although the internal spaces are often intimate in scale. And each, like the models employed in the earlier periods, has historical associations which are easily understood.

Although the years since 1870 have witnessed dramatic political upheavals and radical disjunctions in architectural style, the government buildings of the West have shared certain common tasks throughout the period: their architects have sought to summon attention for the role of government within the vast and nearly unintelligible matrix of the modern city, and at the same time to suggest to a broad popular audience that government, while authoritative, is not too authoritarian. The responses to these tasks have differed greatly from period to period, but not so much from country to country. In the early 1930s, for example, new government buildings in Washington, London, Berlin, Rome, Paris, Vienna, and Moscow resembled one another to a greater extent than they resembled the buildings of any other time or place. Thus, from a general and typological vantage point at least, the uses of history in modern government buildings have been conditioned less by the differences among modern ideologies, and more by the effort of regimes which have been generally populist to deal with the realities of demographic change, transformations in the scale of the environment, and the changing requirements of a large and literate but relatively unsophisticated audience. Clearly there is a great need to address the details of these matters—to look at national and regional variations, the political programs of individual government patrons, and the development of particular building types. I hope that the short book, the draft of which I completed at the Center, can provide a context for some of these inquiries.

Bryn Mawr College Senior Fellow, spring 1983



*I modi: Giulio Romano, Marcantonio Raimondi, Pietro Aretino*

It seems that in 1524 in Rome, Marcantonio Raimondi did sixteen engravings after drawings by Giulio Romano of various positions of making love. During the next year, Pietro Aretino wrote sixteen sonnets to match and accompany these engravings. Contrary to what has been ascertained by some scholars, the images and text were printed together in successive editions. The evidence lies in Aretino's letter to Cesare Fregoso of 1527 and his dedication to Battista Zatti, published with his letters of 1538.

In addition, a copy of a sixteenth-century edition of woodcuts with the so-called *Sonetti lussuriosi* printed below them still exists. It is my belief, from a combined philological and art-historical study of this rare document (clearly a counterfeit edition probably printed in Venice), that it was produced immediately after Marcantonio's and Aretino's edition, that it was closely based on the original, and that it can be dated from 1527-1530.

My work at the Center this past winter involved several different approaches to *I modi* based on extant images and texts, historical reconstructions, and my own theories about erotic art in the Renaissance drawn from several disciplines as well as my own experience as a writer.

First, I have compared the fourteen woodcuts of the so-called Toscanini edition (which, for convenience, I date 1527) with both the nine fragments of the original engravings conserved in the British Museum and the twenty reconstructions done in pen and wash as preparatory drawings for lithographs by the Austrian Count Maximilien de Waldeck in the nineteenth century. At the same time, I have studied the sonnets of the 1527 edition in relation to the images with which they are printed and also explored the *Sonetti lussuriosi* corpus with an eye to determining which two sonnets might complete the canon of the original sixteen.

A comparison of the fourteen 1527 prints with the de Waldeck reconstructions indicates that the count had before his eyes something close to the Marcantonio originals. Ten images correspond to the woodcuts, and two have important similarities, whereas two sixteenth-century prints find no counterpart in the nineteenth-century drawings. Since two woodcuts are missing, two of the remaining eight de Waldeck illustrations may correspond to the original engravings. Through a reasoned rejection of six of these and a careful matching of two images to two texts that appear to have been written by Aretino, I have come up with what I believe to be the two missing pages. (This reconstruction of the series necessarily involves a revision of Alcide de Bonneau's attempt, in 1888, to establish the original poetic canon.)

My interpretation of the meaning of *I modi* as an artistic endeavor and social phenomenon will appear in a volume to be published by Harmony/Crown in the spring of 1984. I relate the work in quite specific ways to the literature-about-the-courtesans tradition which I have been studying for many years. I also describe and comment on the extreme theatricality



involved in the play between the sonnets—entirely in dialogue—and the dynamic images they interpret and extend.

*I modi* represents an exercise in social criticism (a complex exposé of the corrupt social life around the *curia* in the first decades of the sixteenth century) aimed, above all, at a particular powerful figure of the court, the Datary Gibarti. At the same time—and in a more positive light—the work represents an explosion of pagan enthusiasm that had been shored up for centuries. A conscious identification of the present with the past, this joyous experiment represents humanism stretched to the limit.

New York, New York

Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1982

*Joseph Michael Gandy: Architectural Fantasy and Theory in Early Nineteenth-Century England*

Dismayed by his failure to establish a sound architectural practice, Joseph Michael Gandy (1771-1843) wrote to John Soane in 1817 expressing concern over his diminishing reputation, fearful that he was soon to become "a non-entity." His expectation was to prove all too true. Yet throughout his ill-fated career, Gandy refused to follow a downward path to poverty and obscurity. Admired by Soane, Turner, Westmacott, and other leading artistic figures of the Regency as an accomplished perspectivist, Gandy diligently submitted his vast watercolors to the annual Royal Academy exhibitions. These architectural fantasies captured the attention of the few critics who ventured into the Royal Academy library to see the architectural entries. By 1819, the *Literary Gazette* had proclaimed Gandy "a man of genius." In an even less public vein, Gandy delved into the speculative realm of architectural theory; for twenty years he worked on a 2,500-page manuscript entitled *The Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture*. In 1836, fantasy and theory united when Gandy planned a pictorial history of world architecture that was to comprise nothing less than 1,000 drawings (an appropriately unrealizable project). Enduring considerable social and economic hardship, Gandy obviously found solace in these endeavors. He was tireless in his efforts to undertake a programmatic critique of architecture and its changing cultural symbolism.

Like Piranesi and his French and English progeny of the late eighteenth century, Gandy often indulged in pseudo-archeological and highly imaginative reconstructions of classical sites. In his own designs for palaces and public edifices (Graeco-Roman fantasies laden with ornament and sculptural decoration), he sought to reinvent, rather than to copy, antiquity. Inevitably, his classical cityscapes and his unexecuted designs for a utopian London began to assume the same identity. To Gandy, the dream of antiquity recalled the lost centrality of architecture in the social matrix. However, he was also preoccupied with the political and religious despotism which had created and vanquished that dream. The tragic typology of civilization haunted the historical imagination of the early nineteenth century. Turner's Carthage, Martin's Babylon, and Soane's London were rendered by Gandy in future ruin; the authority of antiquity lent both promise and despair to the cultural prospect of England. In theory, Gandy valued architectural eclecticism, despite its association with what he believed was a mercantile aesthetic, over the strict appropriation of classical architectural decorum. The obsession with the irretrievable grandeur of antiquity was countered by the desire to synthesize a new mode of architectural design more responsive to contemporary social and cultural aspirations.

Of course Gandy was not to formulate a new architectural canon, although the reductive, stereometric elevations of the 1805 pattern books may be seen as such an attempt. In his polemical writings, Gandy also addressed the problem of creating a new language of ornament. Fascinated with hiero-

glyphs and heraldry, he believed that the original function of all architectural decoration was as a signifying code of knowledge. Through the ages, ornament was drained of its symbolic connotations, as was the case with architectural form in general. The status of architecture as a seemingly universal mnemonic sign had to be restored. In Gandy's mind, ancient and classical architectural ornaments were symbolic records of the rise of science, particularly astronomy and astrology ("a visionary science"). Relying on the research of Bryant, Dupuis, Payne Knight, and Drummond, Gandy postulated that ancient myth, religion, and poetry were but debased permutations of man's earliest scientific inquiries.

Not surprisingly, astral imagery and mystical lighting effects are prominent in Gandy's architectural fantasies. The dramatic play of light so omnipresent in architectural design c. 1800 is not merely an aesthetic issue. From Boullée's glowing astrolabe to Soane's catoptric distortion of space, scientific and mystical allusions inform the architectural conceptions. Gandy's pictorial essays on Miltonic architectural subjects depict spectacular atmospheric phenomena: parhelic circles and pyramids of meteoric light echo the architectural splendor of the infernal and celestial kingdoms. Architectural monuments mysteriously illuminated from within constitute a persistent leitmotif in Gandy's art, wherein he embodied the neo-Platonic doctrine of emanations, as well as the deistic notion of the animation of matter.

Gandy articulated both transcendental and materialist theories of architecture, hoping to trace "the divine origin and natural model" of man-made structures. Overwhelmed by the ideological contingencies surrounding the investment of meaning in architecture, Gandy deferred to revelation and mimesis in order to account for the progress of culture. By examining the shared geneologies of myth, social custom, and architecture, his theoretical ideas attained some dialectical force. But too often Gandy foundered in the sheer plentitude of romantic historicism. Thus, in his most renowned watercolor, *Architecture: Its Natural Model* (1838; Sir John Soane's Museum), he envisioned a postdeluvian landscape where nature's ruins only intimated the distant future of man's cultural history. As Gandy himself admitted, "in seeking into the origin of things, we wonder without end."

[University of Delaware]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1981-1982

*Universal Expositions in Paris, 1855-1900: A Study in Art and Politics*

During my year as a Chester Dale Fellow, I completed research on the first half of my project, "The Origins and Development of Universal Expositions in France." This is divided into three parts: The Origins of Universal Expositions in France, 1648-1855; The Universal Exposition of 1855: The Apotheosis of Eclecticism; and The Universal Exposition of 1867: The Death of History Painting in France.

In the first part I study the traditional rivalries between artists and artisans which resulted in the establishment of the Academy in 1648 and the subsequent institution of regular, noncommercial exhibitions, later called Salons, for Academicians. Artisans continued the older custom of exhibiting their work in fairs and open shops until the French Revolution, when an attempt was made to encourage rapid industrialization and to raise the status of artisans. Robespierre suggested a fête honoring industry which was held in 1798 on the Champ de Mars. Altogether eleven *Expositions publiques des produits de l'industrie française* were held between 1798 and 1849, none of which, however, included a fine arts section.

The first international exhibition, the *Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of All Nations*, held in London in 1851, included sculpture, but was boycotted by many French sculptors who thought it demeaning to exhibit with industry. Thus the French Universal Exposition of 1855 was the first to include an international fine arts section. The only way to encourage artists to participate was to cancel the Salons of 1854 and 1855 and to promise them a separate building, the Palais des Beaux-Arts, to be erected at a respectable distance from the Palais de l'Industrie. Nonetheless, beginning with the Salon of 1857, Salons were moved from the Louvre to the Palais de l'Industrie, discreetly retitled for these events the Palais des Champs-Élysées. The century had begun with artisans and industrialists holding temporary exhibitions in the courtyard of the Louvre, the Palace of Art. By mid-century these roles had been reversed, and from then on artists were to be temporary guests in the Palace of Industry.

The first international contemporary painting exhibition, part of the Universal Exposition of 1855, was not a success with the general public, who felt they should not have to pay to see previously exhibited works. In contrast to the emphasis on progress and novelty at the industrial exhibition, the fine arts exhibition was clearly and intentionally retrospective, designed to show the glory of nineteenth-century French art. In an attempt to present a united front to world opinion, the rivalries and divisions which had characterized contemporary French painting were glossed over, and an attempt was made to appease all special interest groups by giving individual shows to the representatives of the leading movements of the period. Ingres was to represent classicism; Delacroix, romanticism; Decamps, genre and landscape; and Horace Vernet, military painting.

Confronted with a profusion of styles from all over the world, critics developed a theory based on an admixture of ideas from Vico and Cousin: each country had its particular type of genius and its periods of youth, maturity, and decadence; this cycle was repeated in the development of each individual artist. French genius was declared eclectic in that it could exist in many styles at once, thus avoiding the periods of decadence all too evident in the expositions of other once-great countries. At the Universal Exposition of 1855, the public could for the first time study the development of each major artist through a representative choice of paintings from each phase of his career and compare artists, schools, countries. The principal result was the realization that there could no longer be a single "correct" style, neither for a country nor for an individual, but that artists and styles had to be evaluated in and by themselves. So the retrospective character of the exposition, far from being reactionary, was instead its most progressive aspect, the concept of development being the aesthetic counterpart to the industrial ideal of progress.

Throughout the first half of the century, critics had lamented the decline of history painting and the rise of landscape and genre, categories which the classical tradition had considered inferior. Nonetheless, history painting had maintained its supremacy, largely through the prestige of Ingres, the most respected living French artist. In 1867 that supremacy was brought to an end by the confluence of the death of Ingres and that year's Universal Exposition in Paris, for between 1855 and 1867 France had lost, in addition to Ingres, virtually the entire generation of history painters, including Paul Delaroche, Ary Scheffer, Horace Vernet, Eugene Delacroix, and Hippolyte Flandrin. As a result, the French exhibition of history painting was full of mediocrities and, in contrast to the magnificent Ingres memorial retrospective held concurrently at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, revealed to the world that the grand tradition of history painting had come to an end and that it was necessary to look to other kinds of painting for a continuation of the French school.

The most perceptive critics realized that landscape painting was the most vital contemporary movement; nonetheless, painters of genre carried off the majority of prizes, and Meissonier emerged as the officially acknowledged heir to Ingres, the leader of the French school. This can be seen as the logical outcome of the eclecticism established in 1855, which actually was a policy of appeasement, a middle ground between the state direction of art established with the Academy in 1648 and the surrender of that direction to the most powerful economic class within France in the later nineteenth century, namely the bourgeoisie. For genre painting was the favorite of the bourgeoisie, and its engineered triumph over landscape painting was to be fateful in consequences for the younger naturalist—later impressionist—generation which would be forced thereby into a new tradition of the disenfranchised avant-garde.

[City University of New York]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1981-1982

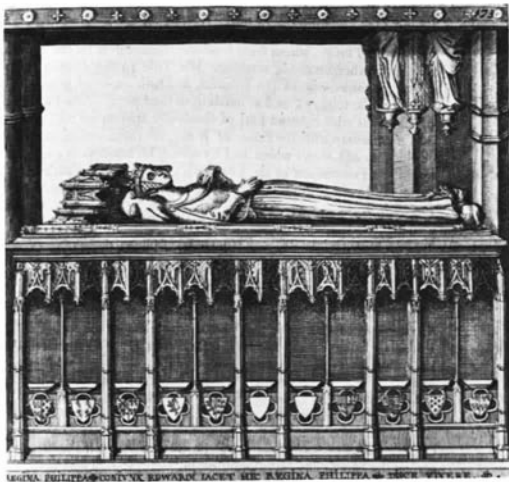
*The Genealogical Tomb: Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century*

The genealogical tomb is an iconographic type that proliferated among the Northern European nobility from c. 1200 to c. 1475. It displays the recumbent effigy of the defunct raised on an arcaded platform decorated with representations of members of his family, usually identified by their coats-of-arms or by inscriptions. Typical programs include the children and/or the ancestors of the defunct, but there is considerable variety in the choice of family members, reflecting political and personal factors.

At the Center, I have worked on two aspects of this subject. I have continued a survey of these tombs, both preserved and destroyed, in order to fully define the type and its cultural and geographic context. I have now identified seventy-nine examples in England and on the Continent, roughly half of which are preserved in large part. On a more challenging level, I have worked on the iconographic programs of those tombs that are well enough preserved and documented to allow accurate analysis. In spite of vandalism and the alterations due to time, it has been possible to establish a full program for nine tombs, and a partial program for two others. A brief discussion of two English examples, both commissioned at the royal court at the end of the fourteenth century, will give some indication of the variation in programs.

Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369), consort of King Edward III, was a greatly beloved English queen, most memorable to art historians for her intercession on behalf of the burghers of Calais and to other scholars for her patronage of Froissart and Queen's College, Oxford. Work had already begun on her tomb at Westminster Abbey two years before she died, and we can only surmise that she was at least partly responsible for the choice of the sculptor and the program. This is the first extant monument by the Flemish sculptor Jean de Liège, who later made his reputation as chief tombmaker for the French king, Charles V. As such, it has attracted considerable attention, but its program has never been fully explained. The task is made more difficult by the fact that only two of the statuettes and seven of the identifying shields have been preserved. However, by combining these remaining with additional evidence, I have been able to reconstruct the tomb program.

At the head and foot of the tomb, in the places of greatest honor, stood ten territorial lords, alive and dead, most of whom were the queen's relatives either by blood or marriage. These included her husband Edward III, the heir apparent Edward the Black Prince, and her father William of Hainault. One long side of the tomb was dominated by Queen Philippa's family, beginning with her mother. Here, most of the figures represented were dead by the time the tomb was planned. On the other long side were found King Edward's brother and sister and the remaining royal children who were still alive at the time of commission, with their spouses. Taken as a whole, the program seems to reflect a combination of protocol, family pride, and affection. It is unusual in its grouping of important male relatives at the two ends,



but not in its inclusion of several generations in one program.

While Queen Philippa's tomb demonstrates the diversity that often characterized the family trees illustrated on genealogical tombs, that of her husband, Edward III (d. 1377), was much simpler in its scheme. Ranged along the long sides of this tomb were little figures in gilded bronze representing all twelve of their children. Six figures and four shields are still in place. The rest can be reconstructed from the sources. It is noteworthy that Edward's tomb, in contrast to Philippa's, included all the royal children and thus documented the line of descent for their progeny. This, rather than the usual view that the figures represent the family attendants at Edward's funeral, seems the likely rationale for the program, for only four children were still alive when he died.

We do not know the circumstances surrounding the manufacture of King Edward's tomb, but it is generally thought to have been made soon after his death. In any case, a conscious attempt was made to show the line of descent, for it can be argued that, with the exception of three children who died as infants, the figures were arranged in accordance with their dates of birth.

The tombs of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault at Westminster thus illustrate what appear to be the main social functions of the genealogical tomb as distinct from other Gothic tombs: 1) to demonstrate rights of succession, particularly on the tombs of great lords like Edward III; and 2) to document family pride and affection, particularly on the tombs of great ladies like Philippa of Hainault.

I intend to develop this material in a book that will further illustrate this hypothesis and define the geographical and cultural boundaries of the genealogical tomb. The book will treat its historical development and cultural significance, and illustrate the ways in which the type was adapted to various historical and political contexts.

Tomb of Philippa of Hainault (d., 1369) in Westminster Abbey, detail of engraving in Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England and Monarchs of Great Britain*, London, 1683.

*The Supplicationes Variae as a Franciscan Manuscript*

It is almost a cliché of art history to assign some significant relationship between the spirituality of Saint Francis of Assisi and the development of naturalism in Italian painting of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Of course, Saint Francis did profoundly affect the course of European culture. His life crystallized and perfected twelfth-century yearnings toward a renewed Apostolic Christianity. Part of Francis' new spiritual orientation revealed itself in his relationship to the world: more than any previous Christian saint, he found divinity in the individual creations of nature. There was also a new popular piety in Franciscan literature, a human and emotional response to religious narrative.

To connect Saint Francis' orientation to the natural world with a renewal of naturalism in art is an idea that goes back to the nineteenth century, most notably to the famous book of Henry Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien* (Berlin, 1885). Thode related Francis' "recovery" of nature as mediator between man and God directly to Giotto's humanism and naturalism. Despite radical changes in our understanding of the art of this period, Saint Francis has continued to be linked, usually in very general terms, with the emergence of a more naturalistic and humanistic style in art. It has been my aim to reexamine this relationship in light of present-day knowledge of the pictorial arts in the thirteenth century.

Although the problem is one which touches art in all media, I have approached it through study of an illuminated manuscript, the *Supplicationes variae* (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 25.3). The manuscript is dated 1293, and, although its original ownership is not known, it contains several texts which are unquestionably Franciscan. Following the devotional texts and apparently functioning as another means of devotion, there is an extensive cycle of full-page tinted drawings of the life of Christ, images of saints, and allegorical and devotional images such as the Man of Sorrows. The style of the drawings shows signs of the incipient naturalism and humanism which have been linked so often with Franciscan influence on the arts. This naturalism and humanism are not, however, due to a direct confrontation with nature. Rather, the artists have learned stylistic techniques and new iconographic formulae from studying examples derived from nearly contemporary Byzantine art. Thus, the question of Franciscan influence becomes complicated by a factor which was not acknowledged in Thode's day: Byzantine art as a creative, stimulating force in the development of Italian art.

The *Supplicationes variae* has been the vehicle for asking several questions about the nature of Franciscan art. Why did the artist of a Franciscan manuscript turn to Byzantine-inspired models for a fresh interpretation of many Gospel scenes? What is the function of the images and what is their relationship to the text? Are there specific characteristics of style or iconography that distinguish these images as "Franciscan?" Does a Franciscan orientation account for any changes in the character of medieval religious narrative and



symbolism? The following will give a brief account of some of my ideas and work-in-progress on these themes.

Much of my study this year has concerned the *Supplicationes variae*'s scene of Christ carrying the cross to Calvary. Several motifs in this scene add unprecedented emotional overtones, the kind of intensified religious drama often associated with the Franciscans. One of these motifs is the swooning Virgin who faints in sorrow as she sees her son. This motif can be found in the Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, but its origins seem to lie in Byzantine scriptural commentary. More work is needed to clarify the exact relationship among Byzantine and Franciscan texts and art. But it seems possible that the Franciscans led the way in Italy's adaptation of the dramatic and emotionally charged motifs of later Byzantine art, even though these motifs do not appear exclusively in Franciscan contexts. A case in point is that of the Crucifix with the dead and sorrowful Christ hanging on the cross. Giunta Pisano popularized the type in Italy with his Crucifix painted for the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi in 1236. Only after the Franciscan initiative did the Dominicans commission a similar Crucifix from Giunta for the Church of S. Domenico in Bologna.

Another interesting motif of the *Supplicationes variae*'s Way to Calvary is a group of children who watch Christ carrying the cross. This seems to be the earliest example of a motif which occurs sporadically in Italian painting and then fairly frequently in Northern European works of the late Middle Ages. Although no gestures or accompanying text explain their meaning in the *Supplicationes variae* drawing, it is clear from New Testament exegesis of Western tradition and from later examples that the children are mocking Christ. They are an allusion to the children who mocked the prophet Elisha as he climbed to Bethel. There seems to be a particularly Franciscan motivation for the inclusion of this motif: Bonaventure's *Legenda Major* likens Francis to Elisha in his "two-fold spirit," and the anonymous *Meditatio Pauperis in solitudine* explicitly makes a typology of Elisha mocked and Francis insulted by the people of Assisi. Early trecento depictions of Saint Francis renouncing his earthly goods include children mocking Francis, reinforcing my interpretation of the children.

As a scriptural allusion embedded in a narrative scene, the children take on added significance as a very early example of a typological element included in narrative under the guise of something "historically" present. This is a phenomenon akin to Panofsky's "disguised symbolism" of Netherlandish painting. It would be interesting if the origins of this mode of symbolism, so different from the "overt" symbols of the earlier Middle Ages, were to lie in Franciscan works of art. There is reason to think that this may be so. A distinct characteristic of Franciscan literary exegesis is the extension of traditional interpretations beyond pure symbol and allegory to an application in the physical, temporal world. Such exegesis was in harmony with Francis' commitment to the concrete things of the created universe.

University of Tennessee, Knoxville  
Senior Fellow, 1982-1983

*Military Architecture and Urban Design in Seventeenth-Century Turin*

My work during 1981-1982 was divided into three parts, each associated with a particular place and issue related to my dissertation on the civic expansions of Turin in the seventeenth century.

The research done in Paris was the most successful in material results. The hypothesis that the objects taken during the conquest of Italy in the 1790s by Napoleon's art commissions were not all returned after his fall from government has proven correct. I found several important drawings at the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque nationale and at the Bibliothèque du Génie which form the missing links in the planning studies made for Turin's expansions. I was also able to develop a study of military treatises published in France in the seventeenth century using the rich collections in these libraries. The history of the Savoy wars with France between 1600 and 1640 were clarified through several incomplete manuscript histories found in the Bibliothèque nationale collection. The diplomatic and cultural exchanges of the duchy with the French monarchs were further explicated in the extensive preserved correspondence. The massive research collection of the French national library allowed in almost all instances an immediate knowledge of the personalities involved, be they strategists, diplomats, writers, or collectors.

The organization and the content of the collections of the Bibliothèque du Génie and of the Archive de la Guerre are important for understanding the military structure of the seventeenth century, its standardization, and the war which Italian military strategy and theory, foreground until c. 1615, was superseded. The dispersal of Italian military engineers and officers outside Italy after 1550 weakened the leadership and creativity of Italian strategy. Piedmont, ruled by the house of Savoy, suffered least from this dispersal due to its close ties and tight information network with both France and Spain. Members of the Savoy family occupied important military positions in the French and Spanish armies, thus keeping the duchy well informed of the latest developments.

The months I spent in Rome were also fruitful in terms of useful documents, found largely in the Vatican library's *avvisi* collection. From the news sent to Rome by the papal nuncio, I was able to reconstruct another view of the major events that took place at the Savoy court. Unlike the self-serving proclamations of the ducal family, the news from the nuncio contained a clear-eyed analysis of the events themselves, as well as suggesting motivations. The Barberini manuscript collection is particularly rich in *avvisi*, but for news from Turin it is necessary to examine all letters arriving from the north, since often the news was routed through other towns, depending on the itinerary of the imperial courier coming customarily from Spain.

The *avvisi* provide regular news of Turin, at weekly intervals. Many of the entries simply confirm data regarding local events which can be found in greater detail in the archives in Turin. The value of these documents is in

showing that the nuncio was aware of developments in Turin and of plans that had barely been formulated by the dukes, or members of the ducal family. For example, the entry in Duke Charles Emanuel II's diary in which he states his decision to expand Turin and the nuncio's report of this decision are separated by an interval of only six weeks. Actual social events are reported immediately and received within a few days. While the *avvisi* have a tangible immediacy, the ducal correspondence with the popes (Barberini, Chigi) and the members of the papal families reflects the formality and stiffness of seventeenth-century social relations.

Brief visits to Turin and Milan turned up more material proof for my hypothesis. While two versions of the foundation medal for the second expansion can be found in the Cabinet des Medailles of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the Turin collections contain only a modello of the medal. At the Ambrosiana library in Milan several sheets of a volume of military plans contain views of Turin as it was around 1650 which provide yet another missing link in the iconography of Turin.

Naturally, it was very rewarding to find these key objects—the medals, the plans, the written news sources—which are the set pieces in my reconstruction of the events related to the enlargement of Turin. They are part of an analytical framework in which the stated intentions of the patron are considered as important as the implemented solutions of the architects and the urban designers. The buildings sponsored by the dukes are seen not only as responses to functional needs, but also, and perhaps more importantly, as part of an ideological program aimed at the establishment of the dynasty's claims to sovereign rights.

Within this program the construction assumes a symbolic power that transcends its immediate practical use, to become representative of the dukes' authority and power over Turin. Specifically, the repetition of the orthogonal street grid and of the uniform plastered building façades is interrupted only by the radial streets that are axial with the entrances of the major ducal palaces which are differentiated by the use of undressed brick as cladding material. To a large extent the regulations pertaining to the expansions explicate the hierarchy that the architecture and urban design propagated in Turin were intended to reinforce. But to reconstruct more clearly the intentions of the seventeenth-century dukes acting as urban designers it is necessary to place them in a wider cultural context where their manipulation of the development of Turin is only one element of a larger program of civic and political opinion.

The analysis and part of the writing of my dissertation took place at M.I.T. during the last two months of my tenure as a Chester Dale Fellow. During this time I also worked on an article to be published by the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, which discusses the expansion of Turin in light of the new material.

The investigation made and the information gathered during 1981-1982 will allow me not only to bring to completion my dissertation, but also to embark on a new research project on the urban design of the seventeenth-century French settlements.

*The Dance Compositions of Edgar Degas*

My year in residence at the Center follows two years spent in Europe as a David E. Finley Fellow, conducting research for my doctoral dissertation on Degas' paintings, pastels, and drawings of dance subjects. During this period abroad I was based in Paris, where most of my time was devoted to close study of the national collections of Degas' works in the Cabinet des Dessins of the Louvre, the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque nationale, and the Galerie du Jeu de Paume of the Musée d'Orsay. Outside France, I was also able to visit the principal collections of works by Degas in Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands.

The goal of this concentrated study of original objects has been a reevaluation of Degas' working methods and, in particular, a new look at the way Degas used drawings in forming his compositions. Traditionally, the drawings of Degas have been seen only as studies for specific paintings and pastels, and thus as leading up to identifiable "finished" works. I believe, on the contrary, that we can best characterize Degas' method of developing his paintings and pastels if we imagine him compiling a repertoire of figures and poses, a repertoire which not only helped him formulate ideas for pictures but also served as a stockpile of images on which to draw, just as Watteau had built up and used a similar corpus of drawings in the previous century. In a reversal of the academic sequence of *première pensée*, followed by elaborated compositional sketch, and extensive studies of individual figures, to which he had adhered in formulating his early works, in his mature career Degas amassed details—that is, drawings—before envisioning what to do with them. These details were used and reused, sometimes for many years, and served to link what might otherwise have been considered unrelated compositions. Thus, the continuing reappearance of one figure or a group of figures in picture after picture invalidates the notion of a specific, preconceived, and finite role for each drawing he made. In fact, it seems to have been a challenge to Degas to work with a limited range of poses, to vary their uses, and to achieve markedly different ends with similar means.

Degas' drawings, then, are a kind of *continuo*, which supports the melody line of his more finished paintings and pastels, and which to a great extent determines the harmonic character of that melody.

Working on this premise, I have focused my attention on four important groups of compositions, with the aim of sorting out the complex relationships that exist both within each group and among them. These groups span the artist's maturity and include not only paintings, pastels, and drawings, but also prints and sculptures. The groups are organized around *La classe de danse* (1874-1876, Musée d'Orsay), the greatest of Degas' early dance compositions; the exaggeratedly horizontal, friezelike paintings of dance rehearsals which dominated the 1880s and continued to interest Degas throughout his life; *La petite danseuse de quatorze ans* (c. 1881), the artist's most important work in sculpture; and the monumental *Four Dancers* (c. 1900, National Gallery of



Art), which embodies both the qualities of form and style, and the meaning, of Degas' late work. My concentration on these works will be reflected in the catalogue of an exhibition which I am organizing for the National Gallery to celebrate Degas' sesquicentennial in 1984.

In my year at the Center, I have had the opportunity to digest and record the results of my research abroad and to develop a method of organizing my observations of the original works of art in ways that make my thesis more clear. By looking more carefully at individual works in the context of the rest of the oeuvre—and specifically in light of Degas' habits of using drawings—I have been able to shed some new light on the origins and development of Degas' dance pictures, especially in the crucial decade following his return from the United States in 1873. As one aspect of this research, I have attempted to reconsider the genesis of *La classe de danse*, the focal work of this period, and its subsequent transformation from an image of modern genre into a portrait *hommage* to the dancer Jules Perrot.

One of my principal concerns in trying to explain how Degas formed his compositions has been not only to describe the mechanics of Degas' almost obsessive repetition of subjects and forms, but also to understand and to articulate how the way in which Degas' works were constructed affects what and how they mean. On one level, this concern has led me to reinterpret the meaning of some of Degas' paintings, which on the basis of socio-historical research had been, in my opinion, misunderstood. It is tempting to take a painting by Degas at face value, to look at it as a narrative to be read. Much recent research has sought to annotate these narratives by putting them into a broader cultural context and by bringing documents and texts to bear on their subject matter. But by looking for meaning only in the world outside the object, we risk losing sight of layers of meaning that may have existed for the artist in the very act of making art. These layers have to be uncovered through the study of processes, and this kind of study is often unaided by the kinds of documents that might confirm our speculations. We have, in the end, to rely on the evidence of the objects and of our eyes.

Edgar Degas, *Danseuse vue de dos et trois études de pieds*, pastel on blue-gray paper, c. 1878, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Myron A. Hofer, B-12,510.

[Yale University]  
David E. Finley Fellow, 1980-1983

*Origins of Divine Multiplicity in Indian Art: Meaning and Form*

The focus of my work at the Center was to test the validity of the working hypothesis that there was religious significance in multiple bodily parts in the initial phase of Indian art. The hypothesis developed in the course of writing the book *Origins of Divine Multiplicity in Indian Art: Meaning and Form*. The book seeks to understand the religious significance of multiple heads, eyes, and limbs seen on early Hindu icons. An understanding of this iconographic convention was sought by an examination of Hindu icons dating from around the third century B.C. through the third century A.D., the period which produced the initial flowering of the convention in art. An examination of the religious literature both preceding and contemporaneous with the icons was also undertaken to ascertain underlying religious beliefs ascribed to gods with multiple bodily parts in the texts. From a philological study of the Vedic Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa literature, a working hypothesis developed. It was found that the multiplicity convention was mainly associated with deities capable of cosmic creation. A particular Vedic theory of creation relates to the multiplicity convention. This theory envisions creation as an emanation process: the creator issues forth form which, by nature, he encloses. Creation of the world is, in effect, an act of cosmic parturition. To indicate a god's capacity to emit the forms of the world, these ancient texts ascribe multiple bodily parts and forms to him.

This working hypothesis was tested in sectarian and nonsectarian sculpture predating the Kushan period (i.e., pre A.D. 78). A survey of Vaiṣṇava sculpture disclosed a minimum of examples with the multiplicity feature. Neither pre-Kushan Śaiva nor Vaiṣṇava sectarian art seems to engage the multiplicity theme sufficiently to test the hypothesis. Assessment must await the sectarian art of the Kushan period.

There is, however, a type of anthropomorphic icon fashioned in pre-Kushan times which, just like the Liṅga, seems to represent divine creative power. The type depicts a Yakṣa, usually described as a fertility deity stemming from the folk tradition and portrayed with a few salient characteristics that occur with considerable regularity. A Yakṣa is a male with a very large belly; his masculinity and musculature is not insisted upon. Accordingly, a freestanding Yakṣa statue is a huge, ambivalent, full-bellied male. An iconographic analysis of Yakṣas appearing in early reliefs and cave paintings indicates that the full belly symbolizes a pregnant womb. Thus the large, freestanding Yakṣa represents a divine male being capable of emitting life. The image of a male being whose belly is a womb pervades Vedic ritual literature. A god, who is described as a motherly male, gives birth to the universe. The god, Prajāpati, is the major progenitor in the Brāhmaṇa texts. Envisioned as an omniform progenitor, Prajāpati issues forth the universe in an act of cosmic parturition which so weakens him that he "falls apart," as the texts state, and must be resubstantiated in a ritual which reintroduces, as it were, the forms of life into his womb. A Yakṣa inherits much of the

grandeur, both physically and conceptually, of Prajāpati. However, Yakṣa icons are not adorned with multiple bodily parts. The absence of the multiplicity convention on the first plastic form in Indian art which should, according to the working hypothesis, feature the convention prompted an extensive philological study of *yakṣa* in Vedic, Buddhist, and Jain texts roughly dating to the first millennium B.C. The study shows that the *yakṣa* is less a folk deity and more a divinity with a prolonged development throughout Vedic and Aryan culture. In the mythic accounts of the *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, Yakṣa is "a strange and wonderful apparition." In the later speculative texts, *yakṣa* represents the animating will of the godhead in subtle or nonmaterial form. As such, both Yakṣa and Liṅga appear to represent the will of God to create; this will precedes actual creation and is therefore of a different material than the created phenomenal forms. The implication is that a being (i.e. Yakṣa) or an energy (i.e. Liṅga) represent ontological prefigurations of the material world and are accordingly of a prematerial or subtle form. Such forms do not seem to be endowed with multiple bodily parts and forms. The findings relating to Yakṣa icons and textual studies, Liṅga forms, pre-Kushan Vaiṣṇava icons, and pre-Kushan Śaiva icons are contained in chapters III, IV, and V of the book's volume II, on iconographic studies.

The notion and function of "subtle body" had not figured in the working hypothesis derived from the *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, because the notion did not sufficiently occupy those Indian thinkers whose mythic creation theories are contained in those texts. However, the notion developed significantly in the subsequent body of Vedic literature, the *Upanishads*. The *Upanishads* are speculative treatises and thus contain more philosophical discussions than mythic accounts. The main theme of the *Upanishads*, explored in a nonsystematic fashion, is that there is an unchangeable reality beneath the exterior of phenomenal change which is identical to the underlying reality in man. As such, the *Upanishads* discuss at great length the nature of the underlying reality of the universe (called Brahman). Chapter VIII in the book's first volume on textual studies takes up upanishadic ideas concerning Brahman as creative source of the world into which it also unfolds, first as subtle substance, then as visible material form for the purposes of worship. On the basis of translations and exegeses of three *Upanishads* (representing the oldest, the middle, and the younger strata of thought, respectively), it is possible to determine that the upanishadic thinkers considered the subtle body of Brahman a plenum. That is, even though the plenum may still be considered a swollen womb and even though the plenum continues to create the world by the emission process, the subtle body does not seem to be attributed multiple bodily parts. Cosmic parturition is referred to by means of a series of technical words imparting the idea that the supreme is a principle of eternal abundance. The creative potency of god in visible, material, worshipful form, that is, in the icon, may however be qualified differently. The working hypothesis, to be tested on the sectarian icons of the Kushan period, has thus been considerably refined as a result of research conducted this year.

Also while at the Center, I completed and submitted for publication the book *Mathura: A Cultural Heritage*, of which I am the general editor.

Fairfax, Virginia Senior Fellow, 1982-1983



*The Problems of Surrealist Form and Content in Max Ernst's  
Capricorn*

My research on *Capricorn* by the surrealist artist Max Ernst (1891-1976) took more than one direction, but my overriding concern was, and has been, the examination of surrealism. The nature of surrealism rests in its peculiar manipulations of subjects. These manipulations may take many forms, for example, collages made from bits of second-hand images—photographs or old engravings from once-popular publications—or painted or sculpted images that contain distortions or transformations. The formal differences between the various types of surrealist manipulation of subject are both great and in some significant ways unimportant, for surrealist methods are based on, and unified by, the artist's psychological state, not religious dogma or political necessity as had been the case for most of the history of art.

The archetypal male and female with their attendants that constitute the National Gallery's bronze cast of *Capricorn* (A 1823) demonstrate Ernst's varied formal manipulations of subject. The construction of much of the original concrete sculpture (in 1948) can be related to Ernst's series of contemporary collages called *Paramyths*. Like the collages, *Capricorn* was assembled. It was constructed from casts in concrete of such common objects as an egg carton and milk containers, with their attendant associations with everyday life. The automobile springs that were used as part of the structural framework also provided the powerful and distinctive curve of the neck of the female figure. Whether or not we can identify these different elements, the effect is similar to that engendered by the iconic and "paramythic" personages Ernst assembled for his collages from cuttings taken from Bulfinch's *Mythology*, science diagrams, and old catalogues. The unity of presence of the sculpted figures is due to the smooth and organically conceived parts of the sculpture, e.g., the torso of the female figure and the arms of the male, that the artist molded by hand and that interrelate the various assembled elements.

The form of *Capricorn* also shows the artist's explorations of the artistic issues he faced in the United States. (Like so many established European artists, Ernst had come to the United States because of the German occupation of France during World War II.) Some of these issues were of course continued from his development in Europe. For example, he had ornamented his house at Saint-Martin d'Ardèche in the south of France with great concrete figures, including a comically fierce horned and fishtailed goddess. Ernst explored this theme again in *Capricorn*, but the treatment is new; the horns move to the blocky male figure and the fishtailed goddess is modeled more sensuously. Ernst's harmonious and highly differentiated interpretation of maleness and femaleness reflects the interest in the Jungian theory of archetypes—and its applicability to cultural patterns and traditions that could be represented in art—that interested expatriate and American artists alike during the 1940s, replacing their earlier and more egocentric use of Freud's theories.



The name *Capricorn* refers, of course, to the sign of the zodiac. The heavens were beautifully clear in Arizona at the time Max Ernst made the sculpture. Dorothea Tanning, the artist's widow, recalls that they spent much time looking at and talking about the stars. The interest in things occult in general was powerful during this period. The avant-garde magazines published in New York, *View* and *ITV*, were filled with articles dealing with the subject. Kurt Seligmann, who published *The History of Magic* during the same year that Ernst made *Capricorn*, was an important member of the surrealist group. But the word *Capricorn* itself contains the possibilities of word plays and topical personal associations (such as in Henry Miller's *Tropic of Capricorn* of 1939) for the artist as well.

Whatever personal associations *Capricorn* may have had for Ernst and whatever it may reveal about the period in which it was made, the sculpture has a direct presence that relates to primitive or tribal art. Indeed, it served as a "guardian" at the artist's home. Since *Capricorn* sat opposite the house and across the curving driveway, it was seen by visitors as well as those in the house. The abstract forms that make up the figures—though constructed from casts of objects and materials from modern society—remind us that Ernst collected native American sculptures. (One of his prize possessions at the time was a large cedar sculpture of a powerful supernatural female personage, called Tsonoqua, carved by the Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast.) Furthermore, in the most "primitive," i.e., basic or archaic, sense the sculpture defines royal and eternal maleness and femaleness by its rigid frontal presentation; it is the supernatural couple overseeing some special place or activity in the most formal way.

Nevertheless, *Capricorn* could never be mistaken for a work of tribal art. Neither is it an example of conventional Western European sculpture. However different its appearance, its subject—mythic beings—is consistent with the iconography of nineteenth-century, and even twentieth-century, academic painting and sculpture. By employing such a subject in a surrealist context, Ernst throws into question our perceptions of traditional art. He gives hidebound subjects a significance taken from psychology, the study of other cultures, and the experience of contemporary life. Thus from a traditional subject he extracts a new and twentieth-century significance.

But the sum total of *Capricorn* is not to be found in the tally of the subjects and traditions Ernst referred to, nor in the specific associations the sculpture may have for us. The artist never quotes his sources so exactly or solidifies his forms so clearly that other interpretations or associations are ruled out. Rather, *Capricorn*, as with all good surrealist art, leaves open possibilities for many possible sources and interpretations.

Oakland University  
Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1982-spring 1983

*Max Ernst's Collage Novel: Une semaine de bonté*

The Chester Dale Fellowship enabled me to make substantial progress on my dissertation, "Max Ernst's Collage Novel: *Une semaine de bonté*." I completed my research in Paris in the fall of 1982. While in residence at the Center during the spring and summer of 1983, I revised earlier drafts and wrote several new chapters.

My research builds on previous studies of *Une semaine de bonté* and adds two other perspectives. The first is a more thorough investigation of the type of wood engravings which Ernst used to make these collages, specifically, illustrations from late nineteenth-century popular novels. Secondly, I intend to demonstrate that *Une semaine de bonté*, both in its structure and in its iconography, reveals Ernst's interest in the tradition of alchemy. Ernst constructed his novel from 187 collages which were subsequently printed and assembled into book form. The volume contains seven chapters, each representing a different day of the week. There is no text except for short quotes found on the title page of each chapter. A designated "element" and "example" presides over each chapter. The first chapter is Sunday, its element is mud, and its example is the Lion of Belfort. In most of the collages from this chapter, lion-headed men are involved in a variety of activities, some playful or violent, while others indicate travel. Monday is the second chapter, and both its element and example are water. Female figures and large bodies of water are included in each of the collages. Tuesday is entitled the "Court of the Dragon," and has the element fire. The scenes of this chapter take place in nineteenth-century parlors or in the Court of the Dragon, an old, and now destroyed, district of Paris. Dragons and other reptiles accompany the winged human figures who are engaged in a series of dramatic encounters and embraces. The fourth chapter is Wednesday; its example is Oedipus, its element, blood. The characters who fill this chapter all have heads of different birds. The last three days of the week continue this consistency of characters and locales within each chapter.

The search for source imagery of the collages in *Une semaine de bonté* has involved an extensive review of late nineteenth-century popular novels at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. I have identified three novels which Ernst used to create his collages: *La fille de Nana* by A. Sirven and H. Leverdier and *L'enfant du Faubourg* and *La dame voilée*, both by Emile Richebourg. In the process of determining the history of these and other novels, I uncovered a vast literary and visual tradition from which they had evolved—the serial novel or *roman-feuilleton*. Since this literature has rarely been discussed as a cohesive whole and its illustrations largely overlooked, a large portion of my dissertation is devoted to a review of the development of the *roman-feuilleton*. Although these works are not the direct sources for Ernst's collage novels, they do present an important and generally overlooked prototype.

The illustrations for these novels were cheaply produced to help maintain the low cost of the journals and *livraisons* in which they appeared. Their

repertory of images depended on the recurring themes of crime, romance, and mystery. The locales in which these dramas were enacted, such as graveyards, bedrooms, and parlors, forecast many of the scenes in *Une semaine de bonté*. While this novel is more than a simple parody of nineteenth-century popular fiction, it takes on new dimensions when viewed in the context of this extensive and overlooked tradition.

By locating many of the sources which Ernst used for his novel, a clearer conception of his intentions has also evolved. Besides the various additions, such as lions, water, dragons, and birds, which brought uniformity to the collages within each chapter, Ernst's most frequent manipulations of the original illustration were sexual. That is, in those illustrations that originally contained only male figures, he added females, and vice versa. I feel that these additions of motifs and sexual elements clearly reveal Ernst's knowledge of traditional alchemy.

Many of these characters are alchemically symbolic, such as the lion who represents the *materia prima* with which the process begins. The two antithetical properties of this primal material, philosophic sulfur and philosophic mercury, are represented in alchemical emblems by male and female figures whose interactions represent various alchemical processes. This recalls the male and female figures included in most of Ernst's collages, a few of which may indeed be disguised replicas of alchemical emblems. Additionally, the sequence of the elements which rule each chapter, beginning with mud (earth), and continuing through water, fire, and blood (or air, since the fourth chapter is filled with bird imagery), represents the traditional progression of the alchemical process.

Besides noting correspondences between the collage method and the alchemical process my work involved a review of the often disputed relationship between the surrealists and occultism, specifically in the light of changing attitudes toward alchemy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This should clarify Breton's statement in the *Second Manifesto* that the aims of the surrealists were not unlike those of medieval alchemists. The true alchemist realized that the production of gold was less important than the self-realization which resulted from engaging in the work. This concept, well known in the early twentieth century, was beginning to influence contemporary psychological theory. The collage method, so central to Ernst's career, became a vehicle for personal understanding. Ernst once said that collage was alchemy, the total transformation of the appearance and properties of an object. This review of *Une semaine de bonté* will document Ernst's extensive knowledge of alchemical symbolism and will point to a new level of interpretation for many of his other works as well.

[University of Maryland]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1982-1983

*S. Bing and the Evolution of Art Nouveau*

My tenure at the Center was spent exploring several issues pertinent to the life and career of S. Bing (1838-1905) in preparation for a monograph and exhibition catalogue. In the process I was able to complete drafts of several chapters of my book on Bing.

The first chapter examines the role of the S. Bing family in nurturing his interest in commercial trading activities, culminating in work with his father Jacob Bing, in the mid-1850s. From his early involvement in the dissemination of porcelains and, later, in the manufacture of ceramics, Bing emerged as a powerful business magnate in the period of the Second Empire. His early ability to work with craftsmen and to oversee an atelier of workers provided him with valuable experience that was to be of essential importance in the organization of his own craftsmen ateliers during the period 1898-1900.

The second chapter, also completed during my stay at the Center, focuses on Bing's interest in sponsoring Japanese art in France and throughout the European continent and on his intricate trading connections with the Far East. By drawing on archival material collected by the Bing family and from numerous museum archives and city depositories in France and Japan, it has been possible to reconstruct Bing's activities from the early 1870s until his death in 1905. His ability to organize several trading companies simultaneously, to travel constantly, and to cultivate close ties with other dealers, collectors, and artists enabled him to promote the taste for Japanese art on a world-wide basis. His sponsorship of a magazine, *Artistic Japan* (printed in English, French, and German editions), did a great deal to promote his name; it also permitted Bing to reproduce numerous objects that he then was able to sell to leading museums during the late 1880s and 1890s or to keep in his own collection. With the assistance of his brother-in-law (Martin Baer) and his brother (Auguste) he opened intricate contact with Japan and in the process acquired still further ancient and contemporary objects. These he readily sold to many individuals including wealthy Americans such as H.O. Havemeyer and Charles Lang Freer. Bing's ability to utilize commerce so advantageously provided him with a steady source of income and with sufficient funds to reinvest to further a personal vision: the creation of a decorative style—an art nouveau—which would mold every type of beautiful handcrafted object found in the home.

The third chapter of my book examines the issues surrounding Bing's launching of an art nouveau style in Paris in December 1895 through the remodeling of his gallery and his active support of young designers. He commissioned certain artists to complete room decorations for his new *maison d'art* which then became permanent displays attracting considerable comment. This chapter also considers the constant abuse Bing received in the French press for attempting something different, for going against the grain, and for daring to exhibit non-French artists and artisans on an equal footing with their French colleagues. By early 1896, Bing's version of an art nouveau

was fully launched and the unification of all the arts and the full harmonization of styles to create a perfect unity in one space became his primary aesthetic goals. Although Bing only sporadically succeeded in achieving this end in 1895, the fact that this chapter elucidates his persistent efforts leads into my subsequent discussions of Bing's approach to the integration of all the arts.

The fourth chapter concentrates on two important later aspects of Bing's career: the creation of the craftsmen workshops and the appearance of a fully integrated art-nouveau style at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. In an attempt to utilize American ingenuity and energy, Bing modeled his workshops on those he had seen in 1894 in New York where he studied Tiffany's successful operation. Although it has been previously assumed that a number of the objects were created elsewhere, Bing's pieces were, in fact, crafted on the premises he owned at 22 rue de Provence in a workshop where he oversaw the designs of the jewelers and furniture makers. Organized in 1898, the workshops were in full operation for the Paris fair of 1900 where Bing was given the opportunity to organize his own pavilion under the rubric *Art Nouveau Bing*. The pieces of furniture he showed, designed by his own craftsmen such as de Feure, Colonna, and Gaillard, among many others, emphasized a simplicity of style and shunned the exaggerations and over-elaborateness found in pieces produced in Nancy by Gallé or Majorelle. In effect, Bing's version of art nouveau respected tradition while creating a new sense of elegance and refinement in keeping with the aristocratic clientele who purchased pieces from Bing's shop or directly from his pavilion at the Exposition of 1900. The pieces Bing produced quickly became famous and were widely sought by directors of applied art museums and schools throughout Europe; in fact, a number of them were copied and used as models to teach younger students about subtlety of style and craftsmanship. Bing's type of art nouveau triumphed not only in Paris in 1900 but also at the first International Exposition of Decorative Design held in Turin in 1902, where Bing received a medal, as did almost all of the designers who worked for him. Bing's type of art nouveau had truly arrived, but its success was short lived, and by 1904 this part of his business had ceased.

The final chapter attempts to place Bing's contribution in the proper context of his desire to be a commercial trader and of his effort to become an active, creative entrepreneur. It also fully documents Bing's role as tastemaker of art nouveau and traces the dissemination of his pieces.

All these chapters were developed for a monographic study of Bing. They will also form the basis, in different form, of an exhibition catalogue for a show being prepared with the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Paris) for the fall of 1985 entitled *The Paris Style 1900: Art Nouveau Bing*. Thus, Bing will return to prime focus through a theoretical/sociological investigation of his career, and the marvelous effect he had on the unification of the arts in Europe and America will finally become visible.

University of Pittsburgh  
Senior Fellow, spring 1983

*Titian and His Drawings and Alonso Cano: Pintor, Escultor,  
Arquitecto*

During my appointment as Kress Professor at the Center, I was able to complete two separate volumes which have been in process recently. The volume *Alonso Cano: Painter, Sculptor, and Architect* was first published by the Princeton University Press in 1955. Its recognition as the standard work on this Spanish baroque master caused Alianza Editorial of Madrid to decide on a Spanish edition. During the summer of 1981 I restudied the works of the artist in Spain, obtained many new photographs, and revised and expanded the text. Alonso Cano's drawings had first been published in the *Art Bulletin* in 1952. An updated catalogue with new attributions is now included in the Spanish edition of the monograph. During my months at the Center I read and corrected the proofs in Spanish, which had been very effectively translated by the publisher. The book will consist of approximately 200 pages and 190 illustrations; it is scheduled for publication in the summer of 1983.

My major project during 1982-1983 was the completion of my fourth volume on the works of the great Venetian painter, Titian (c. 1488-1576). The earlier volumes were published by the Phaidon press of London-Oxford: Volume I, *Titian, The Religious Paintings* (1969), 390 pages, 238 illustrations; Volume II, *Titian, The Portraits* (1971), 426 pages, 275 illustrations; Volume III, *Titian, The Mythological and Historical Paintings* (1975), 480 pages, 308 illustrations, 8 color plates.

The present volume, entitled *Titian and His Drawings*, is a manuscript of 751 pages, 225 illustrations, plus 20 color reproductions. The text begins with a sketch of Titian's career, so that the reader who has not read the first three volumes will be able to understand the drawings. The fifty-four surviving sheets are not numerous in comparison with many other great masters' oeuvres as draftsmen. This fact is only in part explained by losses during the state of abandonment of Titian's palace in the months of the great plague of 1576, at which time both he and his son Orazio died. Titian's method was to paint directly on canvas with only the most general preparatory outlines. In other words, he was not a prolific draftsman following the precedent of Jacopo Bellini, Raphael, and others.

The materials in the text are grouped by categories: portraits, preparatory studies, the search for beauty (the nude), landscape drawings (which figure among his greatest works in this medium). The *Battle of Spoleto*, one of Titian's major lost works, for which a large drawing exists, is allotted a full chapter.

The catalogue raisonné is exhaustive, including not only physical data, but also provenances for every item, and complete bibliographical references with the opinion of each author. Every drawing is illustrated. I have studied the original works repeatedly, except in the cases of three lost drawings known only in photographs. The problem of Giorgione's drawings also receives consideration here.



Titian, *Study of an Eagle*, c. 1512, pen and brown ink on white paper, Washington, D.C., private collection (courtesy, National Gallery of Art).

An appendix of 225 manuscript pages is devoted to Titian's close followers, Domenico Campagnola, Giulio Campagnola, Francesco Vecellio, and Verizotti. The National Gallery of Art has some important works by both Campagnolas, which have been given special attention. The numerous wrong attributions to Titian are presented as anonymous in a section called the X-Catalogue.

The notes on heraldry and a study of the escutcheons in the Ridolfi Albums at Christ Church Gallery, Oxford, were contributed by Dr. Alice Sunderland Wethey. The book is dedicated to my wife who has constantly assisted me in my research and who typed the entire lengthy manuscript.

University of Michigan  
Kress Professor, 1982-1983



*The Lyric Landscape: Poetry and Music in the Late Salon Paintings of Camille Corot*

The first year of my Kress Fellowship was spent in Paris where I gathered most of the material to be used in my dissertation. This year in Washington was divided between further work on the dissertation and research on a project for the National Gallery.

Part of the impetus for my dissertation topic sprang from the conviction that Corot was more than a naive genius who made art *in vacuo*. The nineteenth-century hagiographic stance toward Corot, actively fostered by his cataloguer, Alfred Robaut, would have us believe that Corot's early neoclassical training had no impact on him, that the artist never looked at art of the past, and that he never read a book, or even had a thought, all of which seems foolish. The most helpful information in this regard that Robaut gives us is that Corot frequented the theater, sketched the dancers he saw there, and inserted them, slightly disguised as nymphs, into his landscapes. My research in Paris revealed that, while the dancer to nymph derivation is a good one, the theater provided a far subtler and more pervasive influence on Corot's art in the form of the stage *décor*, the actual flats used to create the fictive space. Unfortunately such material was ephemeral and visual evidence now exists only in the illustrations of the stage sets that appeared in newspapers and periodicals. Nonetheless, sufficient evidence remains to suggest that the theater proved to be a rich source for Corot's work.

Corot has been called a poet, almost at the expense of being called a painter, for over 140 years. Another aspect of my research has been devoted to determining what that critical term meant in the nineteenth century and to exploring what, if any, connections existed between Corot and poetry. This aspect has involved the study of the evolution of the term *ut pictura poesis* over the centuries and the positions taken by various critics who used words such as "poète" and "poétique." I have brought evidence to bear on Corot's specific knowledge of pastoral poetry, which is not only of interest in itself, but also substantiates the insights of the critics who quoted pastoral poetry in their reviews.

Much of this seemed fairly straightforward. However, my topic underwent major directional and organizational changes, primarily as a result of the shop talk I gave at the Center. While preparing the presentation it became clear that Corot's late landscapes could not be discussed divorced from earlier works and that they made sense only in relation to what the artist had produced before. But because of the large number of pictures given to Corot (approximately 3,000, many of them of dubious authorship), I decided to consider only those which he had exhibited at the Salons. Corot himself chose the Salon paintings to represent him in public and that, if for no other reason, makes these works worthy of study. Yet Corot's Salon paintings present many problems with which I had not concerned myself before, such as why he chose one painting over another to send to the Salon





Jean Baptiste Corot, *Souvenir des environs du lac de Nemi*, oil on canvas, 1865, Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.

and how these paintings compare with his unexhibited pictures as well as with those of his contemporaries. Thus, instead of simplifying the topic, the organizational scheme of the Salon pictures made it more complex. Many of the problems inherent in this two-fold approach—Salon paintings and sources—were raised in the discussions following the shop talk.

It is logical to see the later Salon paintings as extensions of the earlier ones. Far from being ignorant of past art, Corot leaned upon it heavily, as recent scholarship has shown. His early Salon paintings had their roots in both northern and southern seventeenth-century painting. Corot followed models established by Claude, Poussin, and the Dutch. His later Salon paintings were often variants and developments of the earlier ones, in terms of both composition and subject, yet with significant differences. For example, a Poussinesque bacchanale of 1838 was transformed twelve years later into a bacchanale which is Claudian in mood and based on set design for its composition. I intend to show that Corot's later Salon paintings are confections of his earlier pictures, now developed, and his personal sources in poetry and theater.

In addition to the dissertation research, I fulfilled the terms of the Kress Fellowship by working for the National Gallery approximately half the period of residence. Most of the curatorial-training time was spent in the Graphic Arts Department, for which I organized a small exhibition of mid-nineteenth-century French landscape prints, under the supervision of H. Diane Russell. As preparation for this exhibition, I studied the Gallery's collections to ascertain the strengths and weaknesses of their holdings, visited other museums in Washington and Baltimore, selected the objects, and wrote the text for the accompanying brochure. This project provided both physical contact with works of art and the Gallery staff and a larger perspective in which to view the art of Corot.

[Yale University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1981-1983

*Early Engravings in Northern Europe*

During a ten-week leave from the National Gallery, I worked on a long-range study of the beginnings of engraving in Northern Europe. The Center's Curatorial Fellowship enabled me to advance this study through a tour of European print rooms. My research focused on engravings made in the Upper Rhine, the region dominated by the towns of Strasbourg, Basel, and Constance, one of the most fertile areas for the development of the engraving medium. More particularly, I concentrated on the work of the Master of the Nuremburg Passion—one of the more readily identifiable personalities among early engravers. At the same time, I continued to compile material for an illustrated version of volume X of Adam von Bartsch's *Le Peintre-Graveur*, devoted to anonymous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish and German engravings.

The emergence of the engraving medium in the second quarter of the fifteenth century is part of a broader development of mass-produced or mechanically produced images and texts in the first half of the century. Fifteenth-century prints, and especially engravings, are receiving new attention as remnants of late medieval and early modern secular culture, and their significance as transmitters of images between artists and regions is being increasingly recognized. It is particularly important, therefore, that this body of material be as accessible as possible and classified as accurately as possible. Yet illustrations of many of the surviving early engravings have never been published, and others are not readily available. The most recent monographic treatment of the highly problematical group of engravings produced in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Max Geisberg's *Die Anfänge des Kupferstichs*, was published in 1923. The task of locating and attributing the surviving early northern engravings was the monumental accomplishment of Max Lehrs and Max Geisberg early in this century. All subsequent contributions to the study of the earliest engravings, including those made by Lilli Fischel, Alan Shestack, and Fritz Koreny, must be based on their work. Yet the problems presented by the earliest engravings are so complex that a rethinking of attributions and basic issues is necessary. Many early engravings are known only in one or two surviving impressions. Hence it can be assumed that a great many have been lost altogether. Frequently the surviving impressions were made from reworked or severely worn plates. Yet, even among this restricted group of surviving works, it is evident that early engravers very often copied each other, or took their cues from artists working in other media, or both. Influenced probably by the later development of the medium, students of early engraving have tended to attribute the few surviving prints to a small number of hands and to conceive of the entire group in terms of schools dominated by strong personalities. Thus, among the Upper Rhenish engravers, the Master of the Nuremburg Passion and the Master of the Power of Women have been regarded as uninspired copyists whose work is indebted to that of the Master of the Playing Cards. It now



Master of the Playing Cards,  
 "Knave Reading a Letter,"  
 engraving, c. 1435-1440, Paris,  
 Bibliothèque nationale.

appears that the oeuvres assembled around each of these names include a high proportion of disparate works, and in particular that given to the Master of the Power of Women can only be described as a grab-bag of problem prints. Only with the elimination of extraneous attributions is it possible to form a picture of the interrelationship of these craftsmen and their connection to other media, notably painting.

A reexamination of these earliest engravings must rest on the same method used by other students in the field, namely careful, repeated examination of the prints themselves. The goal is to identify what characterizes a given engraver's purely graphic style. Other elements, such as composition, figure type, and format may well be determined by the engraver's model or the function of his print. A previous intensive study of the Master of the Playing Cards led to the conclusion that only three extant engravings clearly display the same graphic sensibility as the series of playing cards from which this engraver takes his name. The Master of Nuremberg Passion was chosen for study during the fellowship period because he too possessed a distinctive, though less accomplished, graphic style. His thin, dry contour line, rather blunt and stiff lines to indicate the textures of hair and foliage, and thickly massed parallel hatching flecks could be positively identified in a number of prints. These prints show varying degrees of dependence on sources and range in type from ornaments, to small schematic scenes, to larger narratives, which are pictorial in conception. My trip also provided an opportunity to make some tentative groupings among the engravings which no longer find a place in the work of the Master of the Playing Cards or the Master of the Nuremberg Passion.

National Gallery of Art  
 Curatorial Fellow, fall 1982





